

Mobs and Meetings

This book has two stories about two different people, Samuel Favell and Maud Charlesworth, who lived in different centuries. One story is about politics in 1792, and one about religion in 1883. That makes the stories sound very different, but there are connections.

I discovered these stories in the Times archive while researching my family history. Maud is my great, great aunt, and Samuel is her great, great uncle. I found it fascinating to watch each story develop, day by day, very much as their contemporaries must have done while reading their daily newspaper.

Both of these people were young, and both lived in London. They had similar characters, with a clear idea of right and wrong. They felt that their own role in the world was to defend the right and oppose the wrong. And they both got into trouble doing this.

Samuel Favell was the politician, but his interest in politics came from his religion. Maud was religious, but her actions had political consequences. Their work was done through meetings, and the mob did not like those meetings, and created trouble. The stories show how the problem of unrest was dealt with by the authorities of the two different ages, whether they were the government, the Times newspaper, the police, or even the family.

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An English Revolutionary

1792

Introducing Samuel Favell

The first tale is about Samuel Favell and his battle with the Times in 1792.

Samuel Favell was a Baptist (a Dissenter), but his main interest was in politics.

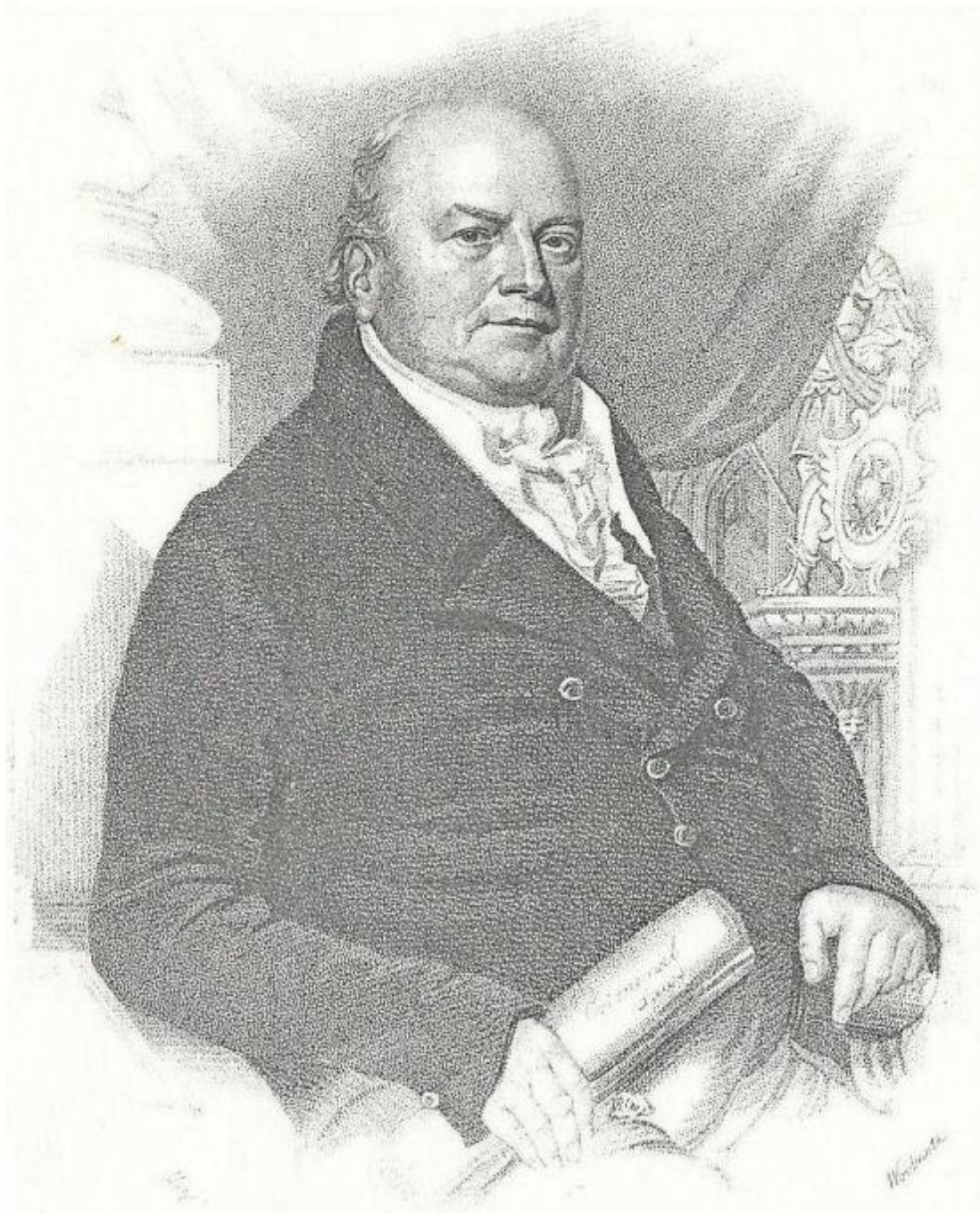
Politics and religion had been mixed up in Britain for some time. In 1688, William and Mary had replaced James II in a bloodless coup called the Glorious Revolution. Religious freedom for all Protestants was guaranteed, including Dissenters.

This story starts a hundred years later. Some people thought that the British Constitution needed reform. There was limited suffrage, and rotten boroughs meant some MPs only needed a handful of votes to get elected. The French Revolution was just starting, and its early ideals inspired the British reformers.

The reformers had bitter opponents. These had an interest in preserving the status quo, but they were also terrified that the French Revolution would be repeated in Britain itself, and the British Constitution not merely reformed, but overthrown.

Samuel Favell was born in 1760, so he was about 28 when this story starts. He had a shop in Southwark, south of the river in London. The picture on the next page shows him at the end of his life, but at this time I imagine that he had "a lean and hungry look".

Samuel Favell



Early radical politics

Most of this story is told through items printed in the Times. Some of these are reports - what has happened. Some are editorials - what the Times thinks. Some are even satires - what has usually not happened! But we start with some adverts. Such adverts provided an important income for the newspaper. Some advertised goods for sale, as today. But some were resolutions passed by political groups, and printed in the newspapers for publicity. The Times did not necessarily agree with the political content of these resolutions, but printed them (for now) unchanged, without comment, as they had been paid for.

Wednesday, Oct 1, 1788

An advert in the Times:

At a meeting of the Committee and Steward of the REVOLUTION SOCIETY at the London Tavern, Sept 15, 1788.

Resolved, That the glorious REVOLUTION of 1688, by which the civil and religious liberties of the people of this country were established and confirmed, was a most important and interesting event, and ought to be celebrated with zeal and spirit by every friend to the British constitution, and to public freedom.

Resolved, that the ensuing Anniversary of this SOCIETY be celebrated on the 4th of November, 1788, by a public and grateful acknowledgement to the Deity, for having preserved to us for a century, the invaluable blessings obtained by the REVOLUTION, and that the religious service upon that occasion, be at the Meeting House in the Old Jewry.

Resolved, That the Friends of Freedom be invited to dine at the London Tavern, on the same day when the usual character of KING WILLIAM will be read, and an Oration pronounced suitable to this grand Æra.

Resolved, That this SOCIETY do recommend to every denomination of Protestants to commemorate the ensuing 4th of November, 1788,

by public thanksgiving in their respective places of Worship, and by other demonstrations of joy suitable to the occasion.

STEWARDS

James Martin, Esq. M.P.

Henry Beaufoy, Esq. M.P.

Tho. Brand Hollis, Esq.

John Meyrick, Esq.

John Redman, Esq.

Mr. Thomas Ashwell,

James West, Esq.

Mr. G.M. Metcalfe,

Mr. Samuel Favell,

Mr. James Maidment,

Mr. Henry Smithers,

Mr. John Adams.

Dinner on Table at Three o'clock.

Tickets 10s. 6d, to be had of the Stewards; at Mr. Debrett's, and at Mr. Stockdale's, Piccadilly, and at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street.

This sounds like an excuse for a good dinner! But it was more than that. The London Revolution Society was formed in 1788, to commemorate the centennial of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. There were many Dissenters like Samuel Favell in the Society, since it was the Glorious Revolution which had granted religious freedom to all Protestants. It was a radical society, discussing ideas of reform. The French Revolution started in 1789, and the London Revolution Society supported them.

Samuel Favell is one of the stewards. He is not an "Esq.", as this denoted a gentleman. In 1794, a street directory lists his shop as "Favell & Bousfield, Slop sellers, 247, Tooley Street", in Southwark. Slops were ready-made clothing supplied to seamen, hence, ready-made, cheap, or inferior garments generally. Not a very high class shop.

Saturday, Apr 10, 1790

An advert in the Times:

Revolution Society

London Tavern, Oct 18, 1790

Resolved:

That the SPECIAL COMMITTEE of the REVOLUTION SOCIETY receives with great satisfaction the Invitation of the CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY, and are desirous to heartily concur with them in a GENERAL MEETING, for the purpose of recommending the measures proper to be taken, for referring to the Public their undoubted Right of a FREE REPRESENTATION in PARLIAMENT.

Resolved,

That the SECRETARY of this Society be directed to wait upon the Representatives for the City of London, the County of Middlesex, the City of Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and the County of Surrey, to acquaint them with the TIME and PLACE of such MEETING, and to request their attendance.

Resolved,

That these Two Resolutions be printed in the Morning Papers.

BENJAMIN COOPER, Sec.

The Constitutional Society (or Society for Constitutional Information) was another radical group founded in 1780 to promote parliamentary reform. So a group interested in Parliamentary reform is meeting with a group who supports the French Revolution...

Wednesday, Jun 8, 1791

Part of an advert in the Times:

The Society for Constitutional Information, vigilant to prevent the dangerous influence of Publications detrimental to civil and

religious Liberty, think it may be useful to the Public to express their disapprobation of the indecent virulence with which Mr. EDMUND BURKE has, with deplorable inconsistency to his former professions, censured the illustrious Patriots of a neighbouring Kingdom, for delivering more than Twenty five Millions of their Fellow creatures from a state of abject oppression and civil bondage.

We feel inexpressible satisfaction in congratulating our Country on the masterly refutation of the audacious Libel on Human Nature, and again recommend to the attentive perusal of every Citizen, the excellent Vindication of the French Revolution, written by Mr. Thomas Paine.

Enraged by the applause conferred on that glorious event by liberal and disinterested men, Mr. Burke, deserting the principles of genuine Whiggism, has with the zeal of an apostate, honoured this and other Societies of a similar nature, with his sarcastic censures. But defended by the shield of conscious Integrity, we dread not the darts of loquacious calumny and deliberate misrepresentation. ...

Edmund Burke, a Whig, had supported the cause of the American Revolutionaries, but now opposed the French Revolution. The "neighbouring Kingdom" was France.

Thomas Paine, born in Norfolk, was one of the Founding Fathers of the United States. The American War of Independence was over by this time, and Britain had lost. Paine's book was the "Rights of Man; being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution".

Tuesday, Apr 10, 1792

An advert in the Times:

*Society for Constitutional Information
The ANNIVERSARY DINNER of this SOCIETY will be held on
Friday next, the 13th Inst, at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street.
Major CARTWRIGHT in the Chair.*

STEWARDS

Mr Joel Barlow

Mr. Thomas Paine

Mr. Sam. Favell,

Mr. Mich. Pearson

Capt. Tooke Harwood,

Mr. J.H. Tooke

Mr. Chr. Hull

Mr. J.R. Tuffin

D. ADAMS, Sec.

Thomas Paine is a steward of the Society for Constitutional Information.
So is Samuel Favell.

"The Memoir of the late Samuel Favell", published in the Congregational Magazine, November 1830 (38 years later) said:

Mr. Favell's connexion with the Revolution Society naturally introduced him into the company of some of the leading political reformers of his day, who were powerfully excited by the extraordinary events of the French Revolution. They hailed with enthusiasm the "day-star of liberty" which arose over the vine-covered hills of France, but which so speedily sank amidst the darkness of anarchy and atheism. Mr. Favell, who was, of course, familiar with their sentiments, remarks:- "It has often been alleged, that the French war was the price this nation paid to preserve its constitution, though I scarcely knew, with the exception of Paine, any one of the most violent reformers that advocated the establishment of a republic in England. At this period I knew nothing of Paine's offensive opinions about revealed religion, and therefore did not shrink from his society. I once met him in company with Mr. Benjamin Flower, just after the latter had published his book in favour of the English constitution. A warm discussion arose between them; Flower charged Paine with a wish to destroy kings, to which Paine replied that he would not hurt a hair of any crowned

head in Europe, but would willingly melt all their crowns and sceptres. It is but justice to that unhappy man to add, that a few months after he voted, at the hazard of his life, for the acquittal of Louis XVI."

Favell disapproved of Paine's religious opinions, but he was prepared to speak up for him, even all that time later.

Thursday, Apr 19, 1792

Favell gets involved in yet another club:

*At a Meeting at the Three Tuns tavern, Southwark, April 19th, 1792,
Mr. Samuel Favell in the chair,*

*Resolved, that we do now form ourselves into a society for the
diffusion of political knowledge.*

*Resolved, That the society be denominated THE FRIENDS OF THE
PEOPLE.*

Resolved, That the following be the declaration of this society:

*Considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the
RIGHTS OF MEN are the sole cause of public grievances, and of
the corruption of government; the society, formed for the purpose of
investigating and asserting those rights, and of uniting their efforts,
with those of their fellow citizens, for correcting national abuses,
and restraining exorbitant and unnecessary taxation, do hereby
declare-*

1st. That the great end of civil society is GENERAL HAPPINESS.

*2nd. That NO FORM OF GOVERNMENT is good, any farther than
it secures that object.*

3rd. That all civil and political authority is derived from the people.

*4th. That equal active citizenship is the unalienable right of all men;
minors, criminals and insane persons excepted.*

*5th. That the exercise of that right in appointing an adequate
REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT is the wisest device of human
policy, and the only security of NATIONAL FREEDOM.*

We also declare, that we are wearied with the unmeaning names of WHIG and TORY, and of MINISTERIAL and OPPOSITIONAL parties, and having often - too often, been deceived by both, we can no longer implicitly confide in either. We will THINK for ourselves; we will study our own rights; and we will leave to the INS and the OUTS all that idle quibble of debate which only serves to amuse and deceive the nation, and to hold it alternately the prey of COURT and PARTY INTRIGUE.

We have beheld corruption generated under the auspices of every administration; from whence we have reason to infer, that some RADICAL DEFECT exists in the system of government, that admits of no cure but from the united efforts of nation.

We have seen taxes multiplied upon taxes, for purposes unknown to us, at the mere will and pleasure of the party in power; and we have seen PARLIAMENT refuse to know the cause for which such taxes were voted. Thus held in the dark by every part of government, our money taken from us without assigning a cause, and ourselves continually deceived, we have learned from experience the necessity of looking into our own rights, and attending to our own interests.

We are told that we have a constitution - if it permits these abuses, it is either not a good one, or good only in part, and defective in its principles, construction, and effects. The continual applause bestowed upon it by placemen, pensioners, government contractors, court expectants, and the hired editors of prostituted newspapers, has justly excited our suspicion either of its excellence or its existence. It may be good for THEM and not for us; and as we are no longer to be amused with a name or a phantom, we will direct our enquiries to the fact.

We contemplate with pleasure the progress which this nation and mankind in general are now making in the hitherto mysterious science of government. We observe a spirit of calm and rational enquiry rising and diffusing itself among all orders of people; and of a nature totally different from the tumultuous malevolence of party, and the artificial policy of statesmen.

We are desirous, therefore, of uniting with the several societies already formed in various parts of the nation, for promoting an

inquiry into, and asserting the rights of the people. We call upon our fellow citizens of all descriptions to institute similar societies, for the same great purpose; and we recommend a general correspondence with each other, and with the Society for CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION at LONDON, as the best means of cementing the common union, and of directing our united efforts with greater energy and effect.

Resolved,

That the following be the Rules of the Society:

1. The numbers of members shall be unlimited, and each subscribe not less than 1s. 6d. per quarter, for the purpose of carrying on the designs of the institution.

2. The society shall meet in small parties or divisions, monthly, on any day of the first week of the month, except Tuesday; and when any division amounts to thirty members, it shall be subdivided, and form two.

[follows more detailed rules of administration, including auditing of accounts]

This is strong stuff. It is calling for universal suffrage of men (women not mentioned) and changes to the British constitution. It makes accusations of corruption. It doesn't seem to like taxes either. The slogan of the American revolutionaries was "No taxation without representation".

Samuel Favell is Chairman of this group, rather than the minor role he had in other societies. By the way, there are several societies called "Friends of the People", so I will call this club the Southwark "Friends of the People".

This meeting is not reported by the Times. We will see where it was published, later. The Times presumably disliked being described as "the hired editors of prostituted newspapers". In fact, it seems to have been the last straw for the Times, because a couple of weeks later....

Attack by the Times

Tuesday, May 15, 1792

The Times refuses to print some adverts:

The Advertisement which came to this paper from the Society for CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, containing the Resolutions of the NORWICH Committees, we reject, because it appears to us, to contain principles which are meant to excite the people to subvert the Constitution. The SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE seems to be of a similar opinion, and therefore [we] have publicly resolved to hold no communication with persons who most avowedly are enemies to the true doctrine of civil and religious Liberty. The money is at the office to be returned.

The "Resolutions of the Norwich Committees" hinted that as the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had produced one change of government, perhaps another one was due. In other words, they seemed to be calling for a French-style revolution.

They also praised Tom Paine. On 21 May 1792, an arrest warrant was issued for Thomas Paine. He was convicted in absentia for seditious libel. He escaped to France, where he was granted honorary French citizenship, and elected to the French National Convention.

The Times has described the Southwark "Friends of the People", chaired by Samuel Favell, as "enemies to the true doctrine of civil and religious Liberty".

Friday, Jun 22, 1792

The comment about "the hired editors of prostituted newspapers" seems to have rankled with the Times. Now they print a satirical article, directed specifically against Samuel Favell, based on the Southwark "Friends of the People" resolution quoted above:

THE SOUTHWARK SLOP-SELLER:

Or, MODERN REFORMER

TO

The Idle, the Lazy, the Dissipated, the Ignorant, the Seditious, and all that are Evil-minded in the Borough of Southwark, greeting.

Southwark, April 19, 1792

We, ourselves in the chair,

RESOLVED, that this Club be called THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE.

RESOLVED, that the following be the Declaration of this Club:

CONSIDERING that ignorance, contempt, and disregard of the New Rights of Man are principally the causes of the flourishing state of this country, and the long and uninterrupted enjoyment of the peace and happiness which society enjoys, we, the Members of the Club, have united for the sole purpose of instructing the ignorant, and persuading the idle, the lazy, the seditious and the evil-minded how and in what manner these same RIGHTS OF MAN shall be established, so that with the destruction of the present Constitution, taxes may cease, all government be abolished, and the People become as equal, as free, and as uncontrolled as the beasts of the desert.

We therefore do DECLARE,

First - That all men are equal - and consequently, that there should not exist such a distinction as master and servant; that no one man ought to be richer than another, and that all authority, even of father over son, and husband over wife should cease, inasmuch as the exercise of that authority debases true Liberty.

Second - That no form of government is good.

Third - That religion is opposite to the principle of natural freedom, because it directs the mind to acknowledge a SUPERIOR.

Fourth - That there is no such thing as criminality in the world, except where an attempt is made to restrain the natural will of mankind.

Fifth - That the true mode of representation is equal active citizenship, that is, for every man to be the representative of himself; and this is the only true mode of national freedom.

We also declare, that we are wearied with the unceasing name of Government, having often, alas too often, felt the power of its punishing those that offend against the laws of society.

We have beheld riches increase upon riches, trade, navigation, commerce, agriculture, arts and sciences flourish - the national debt grow less, taxes decrease, and the kingdom arrive to the most envied pitch of greatness; but how has this been effected? - by subordination, and what is subordination but the admission of that authority, which by placing one person above another, destroys the RIGHTS OF MAN!

We have seen the lives of our fellow creatures ignominiously taken away, for the mere exercise of that active citizenship, which by taking forcibly from the rich and transferring to the needy, a little dirt dug out of a mine, was the true exercise of those rights which alone can place all men on an equality.

We contemplate with pleasure the encrease of those free bodies of men, vulgarly called pick-pockets, swindlers, highwaymen, footpads and thieves, at the same time we lament the exercise of that mysterious science of government, which sends so many of them to Botany Bay and to the other world.

We are therefore desirous of uniting this Club with every similar one in the nation, and recommending a general correspondence - with the Sons of the Picklock, in Kent Street; the Halter Club in Long Lane, Smithfield; the Cock and Hen Associators at the Princess Royal, St George's Fields; the Active Citizen Body, at Jack Green's, Great Queen Street; the Knock-me-downs, Saltpetre Bank; the Levelling Hodders, Diot Street, St, Giles's; the Manchester Levellers, the Friends of the People, the Constitutional Whigs, the Constitutional Society in Took's Court, and many others of the same name in this country, in France, and in Ireland.

RESOLVED - That the following be the Rules of this Club:

The number of members be unlimited, and each Member to pay eighteen pence per quarter, which eighteen pence, that he may not

rob his family, he, as an active Citizen, has a right to steal from any man who is not a brother member.

The Club to be in small parties, and each party to have a President, who is to preside without the exercise of any authority, because authority destroys the Rights of Man.

The President of each party to be cash-keeper of the subscription, but not to be accountable to anyone, because that would acknowledge a superiority.

The mercenary prints who write against the present Constitution, to be paid regularly for abusing the King's Ministers and Parliament.

The Committee appointed to carry this constitutional plan into effect, to meet at the Princess Royal Tap, in the Cock and Hen Clubroom, as the master of the Three Tuns has dared to say he will no longer countenance Treason against the State in his house.

Fare ye well my children,

SAMMY SLOP.

Very amusing. I suspect that the Times journalist enjoyed the alliterative "Southwark Slop Seller".

"The Memoir of the late Samuel Favell" 1830 (mentioned above) says:

Political excitement now assumed a frightful aspect in this country, and conscientious and patriotic men, on both sides, viewed each other with unnatural jealousy and party hatred. The King, George III, issued a proclamation against sedition, &c., and this became the signal of the most violent persecution against the reformers, who were regarded as pickpockets and assassins. ...By vulgar attacks upon him, through some of the public journals, Mr. Favell was regarded by those who knew nothing of the benevolence of his heart, and the amenity of his manners, as a fierce demagogue, ready to rush forward to the commission of any political crime.

Monday, Dec 3, 1792

A royal proclamation printed in the Times:

London Gazette, December 1.

BY THE KING - A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

We have received information, that, in breach of the Laws... the utmost industry is still employed by evil-disposed persons within this kingdom, acting in concert with persons in Foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and established constitution of this realm, and to destroy all order and government therein; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder, thereby excited, has lately shewn itself in acts of riot, and in insurrection. It is more particularly necessary, that, for the immediate suppression of such attempts, some addition should be made, as the exigency of the case may require, to the force which may be in readiness to act for the support of the Chief Magistrate.... We have thought fit to declare in our Council our royal intention to draw out and embody such part of our Militia Forces as may more immediately enable us to provide for the said important objects.

Part of the Times editorial:

The news from the Northern parts of the Kingdom appears to be the most alarming. In Scotland there have been several insurrections, but of no other importance than that they shew the turbulent disposition of some of the people there. In Yorkshire, particularly at Sheffield, in Northumberland and in Durham, a spirit of riot has likewise shewn itself. In imitation of the French, the general cry among these rioters is - let us have a more equal division of property, for why should one person be richer than another? A pretty strong symptom this of what our wealthy Citizens and Landholders are to expect from any change in our Government!!

The number of seditious Clubs in and about the metropolis has likewise become a very serious evil. But such is the vigilance of Government, and so strong is the spirit of loyalty in the general body of people to support the Constitution, that we have no reason to be

under very great alarm. Nay, so prevalent is this spirit grown, that a man dare not open his mouth to utter rebellious opinions, but he is sure to be taken hold of by his fellow citizens, and committed to the care of the Executive Power.

The Times already know of an attack against one particular member of a "seditious club in the metropolis". They have decided to hold the story over to the next day, as they had too much to publish today already.

Tuesday, Dec 4, 1792

A report in the Times (plus some opinion!):

THE SLOPSELLER'S HOUSE BILL-STUCK

The Great Aldiboronti Phoscophornio of Reformation, who heads the ass boys in the borough of Southwark, and who would, if he could, level all mankind to the same standard of disloyalty with himself, begins now to feel the contempt and detestation of the public.

They have enquired into the history of his life, and find that he amassed what property he possesses by attending on ships in Wapping, and disposing of slops to sailors, at cent. per cent. profit - that is, by selling them jarkets and trowsers, and, in return, taking orders for their wages, and buying their prize money for one-tenth part of its value.

A man of this description attempting to new-model our constitution is really a laughable circumstance, and had he not gone too far in recommending the principles of insurrection, he might have passed on without further remark; but when he begins to do those things which he ought not to have done, the public are resolved to hold him up to general view in the most conspicuous manner, and therefore, on Thursday night, when he lay wrapt in sleep, dreaming of revolutions, insurrections, trees of liberty, bushes of freedom, pikes, heads, equality, citizenship, municipal scarfs, sections, departments, National conventions, the murder of Kings, and the feasts of rebels -

they stuck his slop shop all over with printed bills in the following words:

*To be SOLD cheap,
The Vain foolish Sophistry and false Reasoning
OF
A NOTORIOUS SLOP-SELLER.
BEING USELESS TO THE PRESENT POSSESSOR.
Enquire in TOOLEY STREET.*

*WANTED, by the same PERSON,
A little Common Sense,
Apply as above. His astonishment when he rose, was only to be
equalled by the violence of his passion. He stormed - he roared, and
he swore by Cromwell's Head - Cara's Heart - by the Eighty three
Departments of France, and by Dumourier's Sword, he would
redden the Thames with Aristocratic blood - were he not afraid of
the vengeance of the People, and the Arm of the Civil and Military
Power. After this, he shut himself up, and has not since been seen
out of his house.*

The Liberty Tree was a famous elm tree that stood in Boston near Boston Common, in the days before the American War of Independence. It seems other 'Trees of Liberty' were planted in Europe, presumably in imitation.

"Aldiboronti Phoscophornio" was a character in "Chrononhotonthologos", a burlesque opera by H. Carey (1734). The character's first speech starts: "Fatigued with the tremendous toils of war, within his tent, on downy couch succumbent, himself he unfatigues with gentle slumbers."

Oliver Cromwell was victor in the English Civil War, and executed Charles I. Cromwell died of natural causes, but after the Restoration of Charles II, his body was dug up and beheaded.

Claude Carra Saint-Cyr and Charles François Dumouriez were French generals in the French Revolutionary Wars.

Wednesday, Dec 5, 1792

A comment in the Times:

The REVOLUTIONARY Slop seller in the Borough of Southwark is actually ashamed to go abroad. The boys so hooted at him in every quarter, crying out, "there goes the Jack Ass of Republicanism," that he keeps close at home. The numerous bills so ludicrously stuck over the walls of his house and shop, have hurt him so much, that he wishes the new-fangled Tree of Liberty, root and branch, at the devil.

Decades later, Samuel Favell wrote a letter to the Times on Jun 25, 1827, describing all this:

The King's proclamation, the calling out of the militia, and the assembling of Parliament, had occasioned a general panic. These measures of the Government were well supported by the public press, which, I think, with the exception of the Morning Chronicle, was wholly hostile to reformers.

I was soon marked out by The Times, and raised into great importance by the foulest libels; and one published a few days previous to this meeting doubtless produced that vengeance from which I narrowly escaped with my life. A long and scurrilous paragraph described me as having got my money by cheating sailors at Wapping; and having observed some offensive hand-bills stuck upon my shop-window, I arose one morning in great wrath, after dreaming of revolutions, insurrections, trees of liberty, pikes, equality, the murder of kings, and the feasts of rebels, that I swore by Cromwell's head, by Carra's heart, by the 83 departments of France, and by Dumourier's sword, that I would dye the river with aristocratic blood.

It is an impressively accurate memory of the original Times account, so many years later! Perhaps he kept the cutting.

His account refers to a "meeting". This happened on Dec 5, and was reported on Dec 6.

Thursday, Dec 6, 1792

Here is the report of this meeting in the Times. It is a very long report, so irrelevant bits have been omitted.

*Meeting of the
MERCHANTS, TRADERS and BANKERS
of the
CITY OF LONDON*

Yesterday, pursuant to public notice, there was what may be truly be called a NUMEROUS and RESPECTABLE Meeting of all the eminent Merchants, Bankers, and Traders of the City of London, at Merchant Taylors Hall to consider of some mode in which they might express publicly their sentiments of attachment to the present Constitution of their Country.

At one o'clock, the Hall being filled with above THREE THOUSAND of the first citizens of the first City in the world.

Mr. Bosanquet was unanimously called to the Chair. ...

He deemed it proper to mention, that there were no directions from any set of political men - no underhand dealings - no request from any party to induce the call for a meeting of his Fellow Citizens. It was the result of a conversation which arose at a private meeting of a few friends among whom he made one, at the London Tavern, on the subject of the present alarming correspondence which was carried on between certain Societies, and between those Societies and the National Convention of France, the principles and doctrines of which it was judged prudent for the honour, the safety and the welfare of the public, to counteract, by some public opinion of the respectable Merchants, Traders, and Bankers of the City, lest from their silence the world might imagine they coincided in those inflammable resolutions, and other acts that were daily made public, and for which so decidedly tended to an attempt at subverting the Constitution of the Country.

He said, great pains had been bestowed in forming those Resolutions which he and his friends should offer to the Meeting, and as the numerous body of Gentlemen present were men of great consequence in the City, and looked up to with respect for their honour and integrity in their private as well as their commercial dealings, he entertained not a doubt of their hearty concurrence in some measure that would tend to counteract the political poisons that were now so industriously administering to the lower classes of the people.

This preliminary address was received with the greatest applause;

...

Mr. Samuel Smith, of Swithin's Lane, moved the Resolution - That it is expedient at this time, for the Merchants, Bankers, and Traders, and other Inhabitants of London, to make a public Declaration of their firm Attachment to the Constitution, and of their Resolution to support the same.

When the Resolution was reading, repeated plaudits attended every sentence ...

When the question was put, that this Resolution do pass,

Mr. Slater, of Stoke Newington (whom it appeared was neither a Trader or a Citizen) proposed an Amendment, which he stated to be necessary in order to reconcile all parties. He said, however wisely, however carefully, and however justly, our present Constitution was framed, yet as all human matters were imperfect, so was our Constitution [Here a most violent volley of hisses met the old Gentleman's speech, and it was a long time before he was permitted to proceed], and added, that time had by degrees permitted some lapses which it was necessary to repair, and therefore he wished to introduce his Amendment, which was merely a Resolution of the necessity of REFORMING Parliament [The word Reform no sooner met the ears of the Meeting, than hisses multiplied upon hisses, groans followed groans, and hootings from all parts of the Hall testified the universal disapprobation of all present.]

The Chairman at length demanded silence, and said, that the Amendment was out of order, it was a separate Resolution, and could not be put until the other was disposed of. The question

therefore was put on the first Resolution as read from the Chair, and on the shew of hands there appeared all in the Hall, five excepted. This insignificant opposition appeared to wear so strong a feature of disloyalty and disaffection, that in a transport of zeal the five opposers were turned disgracefully out of the Meeting, and then the Resolution was passed unanimously, and peace and good order were restored.

Mr. Slater now very improperly renewed his motion.

The Chairman asked him, who seconded it?

A voice from below said, "I do," - "I do."

An hundred voices at once cried out, "Who are? What's your name?"

The voice, after some hesitation, said, "My name is Rutt."

The hissing began, and Mr. Slater was at length obliged to retire, and take his motion with him.

Mr. S. Smith again addressed the Meeting, and recommended to their notice a gentleman who wished to say a few words (a Mr. Travers, brother to Mr. Smith's partner). He said the principles of this gentleman were pure and Constitutional.

Mr. Travers began with a eulogium on his own patriotic sentiments, but unfortunately stumbling on Mr. Slater's idea of Parliamentary Reform, and wishing that it had been in some manner introduced, he was instantly hissed into silence.

Mr. Smith attempted to justify his friend and in doing so lost the confidence of the Meeting. They would not hear him on a subject so foreign to the purpose of the day.

The Chairman proposed that a Committee of 24 should be nominated; and having read the list of names, loud murmurs were heard when he came to Mr. Smith, but it passed. ...

Mr. Griffin wished the meeting to understand, and the world to comprehend, that the Merchants, Bankers and Traders of London did not set their face against all reform. That idea would be as absurd as the introduction of reform in the present moment was improper. This was not the time for discussing the subject. Variety of opinions were entertained of its policy, and men came not now to debate it. They had matters of much more immediate importance to

take up their attention, and on which it appeared they had unanimously made up their minds. This well timed observation met very just applause. ...

The question of an adjournment was put and carried, and the company departed at about a quarter past two.

Obviously a lively meeting. I'm impressed that the way to get a unanimous vote is to throw out of the meeting everyone who votes against it! While the resolution is solidly in favour of the constitution, there are various people who want reform. Some got thrown out of the meeting, or hissed into silence, but Mr. Griffin managed to get the meeting to applaud the idea that reform in the future might be a good thing. Just not now, when everyone felt that they were on the brink of war with a dangerous republic, and possibly even facing a revolution in their own country.

A comment in the Times about the meeting:

The Meeting yesterday at Merchant Taylor's Hall, was one of the most respectable and numerous, in point of probity and property that was ever convened in London, and they had but one mind. Contrast these persons with Walker, Tooke, Frost, Priestly, Favel, Cooper and Co. and the difference will be Hyperion to a Satyr.

"Hyperion to a satyr" is a quote from Hamlet. Hamlet describes his father as Hyperion (a Titan in classical mythology) and his uncle a satyr, half-goat and half-man, and known for its drunken and lustful behaviour.

I doubt that the Times reporter attended the meeting. Samuel Favell was at the meeting, despite those accounts of him cowering at home. He described what happened in his letter to the Times on Jun 25, 1827:

Mr. Bosanquet, upon being called to the chair, was utterly unable to open the meeting for nearly half an hour, from the incessant roar of "No Favell," "Turn him out!" Fortunately for me, I stood upon a platform, where it was difficult to do me any injury; but several persons were knocked down and grievously ill-treated all over the

hall who were suspected to be of my party. After order was obtained, I had the satisfaction of seeing Mr. Samuel Smith, who had acted with me and Mr. Jones in the Constitutional Society, move the resolutions. He made one slip, by mentioning the word "reform," for which he was hissed by his own supporters.

After observing great insult and violence, I walked out before the termination of the business. A number of persons at the end of the hall followed me, calling out "That's he." ... When I got to Finch Lane, they soon occasioned a mob. Being in the full vigour of youth, I faced about in the attitude of defiance, but I soon perceived it would be Quixotic to encounter a multitude; and as it was impossible to reach home in safety, I took refuge with a friend at the corner of Birch Lane, and went upstairs. He assured me afterwards, that if he had not said I had left his house, the mob would have pulled it down. My family were in suspense several hours, from the general report that I was killed: but my kind friends, Mr. Richard Sharp, and Mr. Samuel Rogers, found me safe in the evening.

The mob was at the meeting, and supported the government and the constitution, opposing reform. They are quite prepared to use violence, and all Samuel Favell can do is hide.

It is interesting that this "loyal" resolution is proposed by someone who was in the Constitutional Society with Favell.

Wednesday, Dec 12, 1792

Some more heavy-handed satire from the Times:

THE PROGRESS OF A LIE

From Paris to London, as related by John Bull

The Mail from London, not arriving in regular time, the Citizen at whose house I lodged told me that he had it from a Sans Culotte, who had it from a Jacobin, who is in confidence with the War Minister, that all London was in Rebellion, and that the Society for

Constitutional Information had planted the TREE OF LIBERTY in St. James's Park.

I obtained a passport immediately, for which I paid the Minister's valet thirty Guineas, and set off for London with all expedition, in order to save my property if possible.

When I arrived at St. Denis, the Landlord there told me that a Courier, who changed horses about an hour before I came, informed him, that the Palace at St. James's was levelled to the ground, that Horne Tooke had taken possession of the Queen's House, and that all the Royal Family were contained in the Tower.

This was sad news to me, with a heavy heart I proceeded on as far as Chantilly, where I had the melancholy news, confirmed by a Member of the Jacobin Club just arrived from Dover, that the City of London was in flames, that the prisoners escaped from the different goals had seized upon the Bank, and after burning all the books, and crying out "the National Debt is now paid" sung ça ira in procession to Temple Bar, where they beheaded Lord Grenville, Mr. Pitt, Lord Kenyon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the late Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Dundas.

I could not doubt these facts so minutely put together, as he told me he saw the Bank in flames, and that he was sent express by Mr. W-, of Manchester, with a letter to Tom Paine, requesting that great Statesman to form a new Constitution immediately for Great Britain.

O! unfortunate Britain, said I to myself!! - but I will see you once more, and so I pushed forward, hearing bad news at every port, until I came to Amiens.

Here the Postmaster gave me a most melancholy picture of all Great Britain. He said he was authorised to say, that all Scotland had united, and declared for a French Republic; and that there were seventy thousand Highlanders with a National Flag, and red caps, under the command of a Scotch Colonel, who was the Dumourier of the North. That a National Convention was called, and Horne Tooke chosen President - that London was disfranchised, and Mr. Favel, a slop-seller, chosen Mayor of the Metropolis; that the King and Queen were to be tried on the next Sunday, and that the Prince of

Wales and all his brothers and sisters were shut up in the Tower. The Lyons he said had all been massacred, as emblems of Royalty. Then says I, my property is gone for ever:- but I'll pursue my journey, and save my wife and family.

At length arrived at Calais, I entered with a most dejected countenance, and asking at the Hotel what news from England, was informed, that the two Lumber troops, and the Johns, with the City Artillery Corps, and the London Volunteers having made an attempt to take the Tower by escalade, were cut to pieces, - that Ireland had emancipated herself from Great Britain, and made Napper Tandy President of the new National Assembly.

I embarked on board the Packet, and in five hours landed at Dover; where I saw a great croud surrounding the Mail Coachman, who was telling the people that London was in flames, and that the sparks which flew from the Mansion House had communicated to the Coach Guard's blunderbuss, which went off and shot away the right thumb of an Alderman in Lombard Street, who was franking his letters to his correspondents in the Country, informing them of the misfortunes of the day.

This was enough for me. I got into the stage, and without exchanging a word until we arrived in the Borough of Southwark, was overjoyed to find that the whole of what I had heard was a lie fabricated by the Jacobins, who had been propagating not what was the fact, but that which they wished to be so.

Interesting enough, Thomas Paine, Tooke and Favell (the "slop-seller"!) are the only English "revolutionaries" mentioned. They were all members of the Society for Constitutional Information. Elsewhere in England and Scotland, there are merely references to Mr W- or a "Scotch Colonel". James Napper Tandy really was an Irish revolutionary.

"*Sans-culottes*" means "without knee-breeches". It referred to the common people of the lower classes, who wore trousers instead.

The French Jacobin Club was the most famous and influential political club in the development of the French Revolution.

Ça ira was a song of the French Revolution, which described with great glee the hanging of aristocrats.

"The Lyons" (lions) were part of the menagerie in the Tower of London. The last of the animals left in 1835, relocated to London Zoo, after one of the lions was accused of biting a soldier.

Saturday, Dec 22, 1792

A report (and a gloat) from the Times:

The Opposition have to a man declared, that in case of a war, they will support Government to the utmost of their power. Both Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan have pointedly made this declaration, in order that it might not be supposed they wished to clog the wheels of Government.

The coinciding opinion last night in the House of Lords, and the junction of all parties to repel the insidious designs of France against this country, afford such a prospect as must give pleasure to every honest man. We do not wish for war; but when provoked to it, there is a universal evidence in and out of Parliament, with what a cheerful unanimity we shall support it. France has been unwisely taught to believe the contrary. When the people of that country are permitted to read the Parliamentary Debates of our Senate, they may perhaps know, too late, that they have been deceived.

The worst news the Society for Constitutional Information ever received, was that of the Debate in both Houses of Parliament, and the division in the Commons on Thursday last.

*May Virtue ever, to Rebellion's cost,
Thus nobly disappoint Tooke, Paine, and Frost.
O! Favell, Priestley, O dear Master Shove!
To the last dreadful stake ye now are drove;
No Rights of Man, in Shops, shall now presume,
To alter Clarendon, and mis-quote Hume.
No Anglo Franco Jacobin shall dare
To say "Your Courts of Law I do not fear."
The British Lion from his den is rous'd,*

And every Rebel must be shortly hous'd.

Tooke, Frost, Priestly and Favell were also mentioned in the Times's comment on the meeting on Dec 6.

David Hume was a Scottish philosopher, historian, economist.

Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon, wrote "History of the Rebellion", the classic account of the English Civil War.

There is a distinct threat in the Times account that the members of the Society for Constitutional Information will be imprisoned. Nothing like this happened (yet). But Samuel Favell did suffer in another way, as the Times was delighted to point out on the same day:

Mr. FAVELL of the Borough has been dismissed from a very lucrative post, which he and his family have enjoyed for a great number of years, under the Clothworker's Company.

His father John Favell had been Master of The Clothworkers' Company in 1774. This is possibly how the "lucrative post" started.

Friday, May 24, 1793

Extracts from another satire in the Times, a few months later:

An EX-MINISTERIAL BILL OF COSTS

£./s./d.

To amending Mr. Grey's speech on the grand intended Reformation of Parliament 0/5/0

To one hundred and twenty seven LIES, strongly asserted as TRUTHS, respecting the REVENUE, at 1d. per lye 0/10/7

To writing a letter of condolence to Mr. Favell, the Philosophical Slopseller in the Borough, on the Decay of his Tree of Liberty 0/0/1¼

To translating the Marseillois Hymn into Irish, for the benefit of the Whiteboys 0/0/9

To the weekly stipend allowed for every species of abuse against the war 1/1/0

To Tom Paine's works, printed of foolscap, and bound in calf, for the use of all the lunatic Corresponding Societies 40/0/0

To sundries for raising an insurrection 100/0/0

The full article contains various topical jokes against politicians, which I have left out. But it shows that Samuel Favell is still an accepted butt of jokes by the Times.

At this point, Britain was at war with France, who had declared war on 1 February, 1793.

Friday, Sep 13, 1793

Report in the Times:

The Celebrated Slop Seller in the Borough made his appearance on Wednesday night last for the first time at the CLUB. He came earlier than usual, and therefore little was said until the room was full. Mr. B- congratulated him upon his resurrection from the Grave of French Liberty, and asked him what was become of the fruit of the Forbidden Tree? Question after question followed, with a laugh, until he was at last asked, if he had heard that Toulon was taken, and that the French had delivered up the fleet lying at anchor there to Lord HOOD? This threw him into a delirium and he was carried home quite senseless.

The problem with the satires is that by now we do not know how much this is a satire, or a report. I am not sure which "Club" is being referred to. If Favell came earlier than usual, then how come was it his first time?

The "Forbidden Tree" is presumably the Tree of Liberty, referred to in many articles already.

The siege of Toulon was from 8 Sep - 19 Dec 1793. The fate of the French fleet there marked one of the earliest significant operations by the British Royal Navy during the French Revolutionary Wars. However, the siege itself was an early Republican victory over a Royalist rebellion in the southern French city of Toulon, partly due to a young, unknown captain called Napoleon Bonaparte. So not, perhaps, something for Britain to gloat about, but they would not know that.

Tuesday, Oct 22, 1793

Report in the Times:

Mr. PIGOTT and his friend HUDSON are still philosophising over the happiness of the French Constitution in durance vile, security equal to £250 not yet being as yet comeatable. Why do not "the Constitutional Society," or "the Friends of the People," or "the Constitutional Whigs," step forward? Or, why does not Mr. Favell, or the Revolutionary Shoe-maker in St. Paul's Churchyard, offer themselves as security for those two prominent branches of the French Tree of Liberty.

Pigott and Hudson were drinking in a coffee-house. The evidence stated "They had drunk two glasses of punch each... large glasses, such as they charge sixpence a piece for." Pigott proposed toasts such as "Equality!" and "The Republic of France; may it triumph over Europe!" and Hudson referred to the King as a "German hog-butcher". They were found guilty of "Seditious words". The penalty was imprisonment, and money to be paid as security for good behaviour. There is no suggestion that they knew Favell or the "Revolutionary Shoe-maker". The Times is merely saying that these noted revolutionaries should obviously support such seditious people.

Various uncontradicted accounts represent Tommy Paine as one of the most miserable objects now in France. Unpossessed of the frivolous volatility of a Frenchman, he cannot laugh and sing while there is cause for weeping and gnashing of teeth. At present, this universal Equality Rights of Man supporter finds himself on the wrong side of the question, and the savages, who profited by his precepts, are now ready, as an example of their erudition, to tear him to pieces.

The Reign of Terror happened between 5 September 1793 and 28 July 1794. It was marked by mass executions of "enemies of the revolution". Paine was arrested and imprisoned in December 1793, and was nearly guillotined. A chalk mark on the door by the gaoler to mark the prisoner as due for execution, was made on the inside of his door by mistake, so was not noticed. This meant Paine survived the few vital days needed until the fall of Robespierre on July 27, 1794. He was released November 1794.

By this time, no moderate reform politician in Britain is going to support the French Revolution.

Monday, Nov 18, 1793

Extracts from a satire in the Times:

HONORARY DRAWINGS

Satan rising from the Regions of Chaos - painted in blood -

FRENCH CONVENTION

Hungry Tygers over their prey - from real life - FRENCH

REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL

Wat Tyler's Head - in crayons - SLOP FAVEL

Oliver Cromwell's Heart - an engraving - HORNE TOOKE

Design for a Republican Pillar in French paste - REVOLUTION SOCIETY

The full article contains various topical jokes against politicians, as well. Samuel Favell is still an accepted butt of jokes from the Times. This seems to be the last satire or malicious report on him.

There are two "drawings" from France, both describing the situation. The Revolution Society has been brought back for criticism, presumably because its name (originally derived from the Glorious Revolution of 1688) can now be linked to the gory French Revolution. To be fair to the Times, the Revolution Society had originally supported the French Revolution at the start. But not any more, I feel!

Wat Tyler was a leader of the Peasant's Revolt in 1381, which opposed the introduction of a poll tax. He was killed (but not beheaded).

John Horne Tooke was involved, like Favell, in the Revolution Society and the Constitutional Society, and had been mentioned, with Favell, in some of the Times satires. Things are about to get serious.

Saturday, May 17, 1794

A report in the Times:

Several more persons were taken up in the course of Thursday night and yesterday, on suspicion of being concerned in a treasonable correspondence at home, for altering the Constitution of the Country. Among these are Citizen Horne Tooke, of Wimbledon, in Surrey; Citizen Bonney, an Attorney, of Rathbone Place; Citizen Rich, formerly a Clerk in Sir Robert Herries's Banking House, and since Secretary to one of our Democratic Societies; and Citizen SAINT, Secretary to the United Constitutional Societies at Norwich. Citizen TOOKE was yesterday morning arrested at his villa at Wimbledon, by Wiffin the Messenger, and all his papers seized.

This is a serious report, but the Times cannot resist referring to these people by the French revolutionary title of 'Citizen'. Samuel Favell is not arrested.

Tuesday, May 20, 1794

A report in the Times:

Yesterday at 2 o'clock the PRIVY COUNCIL met at the Council Office in the Treasury ... when warrants were delivered to the undermentioned King's Messengers, for conveying the bodies of the different persons in their custody to the tower, charged with treasonable and seditious practices, viz.

[follows a list of six people including] *JOHN HORN TOOKE, in the custody of Hunter, an extra Messenger, and a Mr. Walsh.*

...The prisoners were conducted to separate apartments. ... Citizen Tooke is in the house of the head-goaler [sic],

... Tooke was in high spirits, and expressed his thanks to the Executive Government for the care they took of the health of him and his companions, in providing them with country lodgings.

The "tower" is the Tower of London.

I was a little surprised to see that Tooke's witty comment is reported so fairly by the Times. I suppose that it made good copy! In the full article, they compared him to the other prisoners, who are described as "*severely and sensibly affected and wept bitterly*", "*confused and stupid*" and "*particularly riotous and impertinent, bravadoing everything, and treating every person with contempt.*"

Over thirty radicals were arrested. John Horne Tooke was one of three tried for high treason in November 1794.

Various documents were read out at the trial of Horne Tooke, including the Resolutions of the Norwich Committees and the Southwark Friends of the People. I found these resolutions (already given) in the report of this trial. The Times, remember, refused to print them. These were part of the evidence to show that Tooke was involved in these seditious clubs. Remember that Favell was actually Chairman of one of them!

Still, this did not matter. In all three trials, the radicals were acquitted. Tooke's trial lasted six days, and the jury only took eight minutes to settle their verdict, an impressive victory for freedom of speech!

At this point, the Times decided to stop hounding Samuel Favell. Perhaps it was embarrassed by this debacle!

Later politics

"The Memoir of the late Samuel Favell" 1830 (mentioned above) describes Samuel Favell's own change of attitude:

The course of events in Europe, doubtless, checked the political ardour of Mr. Favell, and he witnessed, with grief common to all the friends of freedom, the licentious progress of popular freedom in France, until they who had forsaken God were forsaken by Him, and left to endure one of the most oppressive military despotisms the world has ever beheld.

Other factors may have helped Favell to settle down. He moved to live in a house in Camberwell Grove, although he still kept his shop in Southwark. In 1799, he married the only daughter of Benjamin Beddome, a noted Baptist minister and hymn-writer. Later, he went into partnership with his brother-in-law, who was a woollen draper in Fenchurch Street in the City of London.

Tuesday, Nov 24, 1801

Here is part of a report in the Times, seven years later:

Mr. Favell stated, that he had the honour to present a Memorial about twelve years ago to the Court [of Common Council], from a Public Meeting of the Freemen of London resident in Southwark, containing a variety of questions respecting the Rights and Jurisdiction of the City of London in the Borough of Southwark; many of those questions were clearly in favour of the City, others were more involved and had been the subject of litigation with the County.

The Memorial, which had now been read from the Grand Jury, went only to one point, namely the appointment of an acting Magistrate for the Borough; a right which was admitted by all parties to vest in the City, and which they had never ceased to exercise till within the last fourteen years, or from the death of Justice Kettleby, who

usually resided in the Bridge Yard. Mr. F. observed that the want of such a Magistrate had rendered the Court of Quarter Session, usually held by the City in the Borough, almost totally useless and nugatory. Mr. F declared that he had been sworn on the Grand Jury for near twenty years, and that in the last fourteen he verily believed they had never found ten Bills of Indictment.

...This grievance must appear very striking to every person who considers that there is a population of near forty thousand inhabitants in the Borough [of Southwark], and they now have no means of prosecuting Felons (except once in the year) nearer than Kingston, Reigate, or Guildford.

This is a calm report from the Times, compared with their previous satirical comments against the "Southwark Slop-seller". Perhaps the Times has forgotten! Samuel Favell is now a respected local politician. This is a matter of local politics (and so a bit dull), but he describes a period of time ("about twelve years ago", "near twenty years") when the Times considered him to be a revolutionary.

Tuesday, Sep 6, 1803

In the London Gazette:

Samuel Favell, Esq. to be Captain in Loyal Southwark Volunteer Infantry."

Samuel Favell is now an Esq., if he wasn't before, because an officer, even in a voluntary militia, is a gentlemen.

"The Memoir of the late Samuel Favell" 1830 (mentioned above) says:

On the violation of the short peace of 1802, on which he had moved, in the Borough of Southwark, an address of congratulation to the throne, Mr. Favell obeyed the call to arms, which resounded through the land, to repel the threatened invasion of the French army, and with great ardour joined a volunteer regiment, under

Colonel Tierney, in which he was honoured with the appointment of Major.

He must have been promoted!

Friday, Dec 15, 1809

Samuel Favell became a Common Councilman in 1809.

He gave a speech proposing resolutions against government ministers. Here are some of the resolutions (published in the Times as an advert, the usual procedure):

In a meeting or Assembly of the Mayor, Aldermen and Liverymen, of the several companies of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said City, on Thursday, the 14th day of December, 1809

Resolved Unanimously, That the enormous waste of treasure, and unprofitable loss of lives, in the late military enterprises in which His Majesty's forces have been unfortunately employed, have excited mingled feelings of compassion, disappointment, indignation, and alarm, among all classes of His Majesty's subjects.

Resolved, That the whole military strength and resources of this kingdom have been drawn forth an extent unparalleled in its history, and have been most improvidently applied, and fatally consumed, in unconnected and abortive enterprises, attended with no permanent advantage to Great Britain, without effectual relief to her Allies, and distinguishable only by the unprofitable valour displayed, and immense sacrifice of blood and treasure.

Resolved unanimously, That, during these unprecedented failures and calamities, our misfortunes have been highly aggravated by the imbecility and distraction in the Cabinet, where it appears his Majesty's confidential servants have been engaged in the most despicable intrigues and cabals, endeavouring to deceive and supplant each other, to the great neglect of their public duty and scandal of the Government.

Resolved, That the most effectual way of evincing our loyalty to our Sovereign, regard for the Constitution, and promoting the security of the Country, is by a spirit of jealousy and vigilance over Public Men, and a free Representation of the People in Parliament, by which alone we can secure a just and constitutional control over all Public Functionaries.

Resolved unanimously, That we are of the opinion, that in the present arduous struggle in which we are engaged, the safety of the British Empire can alone be preserved by wise and honest Councils to direct the Public Force; and such Councils can alone be upheld by the energies of a free and united people.

Resolved unanimously, That such calamitous events imperiously call for a rigid and impartial Inquiry; and that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, praying his Majesty to institute such inquiry. ...

Now for Favell's speech. Part of the report in the Times on the meeting:

Yesterday, pursuant to a requisition to the LORD MAYOR, a Common Hall of the Liverymen of London was convened at Guildhall...

For his part, he [Mr. Favell] took up the subject, not as a question of party: he knew of no party in this case, but the party of his country, against the corrupt and incompetent Ministers, who, most unfortunately for her prosperity and happiness, had too long had the direction of her affairs; and who, notwithstanding they had held so long at their disposal the whole strength and resources of the country, with an expenditure of seventy millions a year, had, by their mismanagement, involved the nation in disasters and disgraces unparalleled at any former period of our history. To put an end, if possible, to a system so ruinous and degrading to the British nation, he conceived it was the duty of the Citizens of London, assembled in that ancient hall, to call to mind the glory of their ancestors, and the talents of those illustrious Statesmen, who in former times, guided the affairs of the country with so much honour and advantage; and to unite their voices in reprobation of the conduct of those whose

imbecility and misconduct were the sources of all those calamities which at present involved the nation; and he trusted that the manly proceedings this day to be adopted by the Liverymen of London would prove the death-blow of corruption, and the resurrection of honest men to guide our affairs. He did not wish to harrow up the feelings of his fellow citizens by going into the distressing detail of those disasters which the country had of late sustained. he was convinced there was no man in that Hall who would not have felt greater pleasure on meeting to vote an Address of Congratulation to his Majesty, for those signal successes of his arms which the Country had a right to expect, than to complain of grievances and disasters. But it was impossible to blot from their memories the disgraceful affair at Cintra, or the misfortunes of our first Expedition to Spain, which terminated in the rapid and disastrous retreat of our army to Corunna, and the death of the gallant Sir John Moore. That lamentable issue to our first Spanish Expedition did not complete the measure of our disasters; for, to make the cup of misfortunes more bitter, the affair of Walcheren followed, and formed, as it were, the climax of our calamity and disgrace; and this while one of his Majesty's principle Ministers who directed that disgraceful measure was cruising in Margate Roads; and another, his colleague, remained at home brooding over accusations against the incompetency and imbecility of the former. In coming forward, then, to implore of his Majesty a rigid inquiry into the misconduct of such men, he felt that he was urging the cause, not only of the Citizens of London and all the people of England, but of the army and navy, who were embarked in the same common cause of their country, and whose honour and fame were implicated in those disasters, and who he was convinced would join with one voice their country on this occasion, in the universal demand of enquiry. The opposers of enquiry in another place had urged that it was unnecessary to address his Majesty on this subject as Parliament would soon meet, and enquiry would follow as a matter of course. In that quarter, however, he placed no reliance. Enquiries had already been proposed, and adopted there, but what was the result? The foulest imputations had been cast upon those who proposed them,

and even when they were followed up to the detection of delinquency, no punishment ever followed. He was unwilling to trespass longer on the attention of the Livery; he had only to rejoice that the people of the country were roused to a sense of their misfortunes, and that a spirit of enquiry was excited in the Citizens of London, which, he trusted, would, from their example, extend throughout the kingdom, and prove the source of our salvation. It was to the spirit of the City of London that the country owed the suppression of General Warrants, and the resistance of many other encroachments of former ministers subversive of the rights of the people. ... He concluded by moving the series of Resolutions. Mr. Sheriff ATKINS now attempted to speak, but his voice was drowned in hooting and hisses. ...

Samuel Favell is no longer talking to radical groups. Now he is speaking to a very respectable group of people, the Liverymen of London, and he has their support. They hiss his opponent (unlike the meeting at Merchant Taylor's Hall, where Favell's supporters were hissed). The Times reports his speech in full, without comment. Yet the resolutions are highly critical of government, and there seems to be a hint of wanting constitutional reform ("free Representation of the People in Parliament"). Perhaps this is acceptable if you talk enough about your "*loyalty to our Sovereign [and] regard for the Constitution*"!

The Convention of Sintra (or Cintra) allowed defeated French troops to be evacuated from Portugal.

The Corunna Campaign, in Spain, was a disaster for British troops, and their leader, Sir John Moore, was killed.

A British armed force landed on Walcheren, in the Netherlands, to assist the Austrians in their war against Napoleon. But the Austrians had been decisively defeated at the Battle of Wagram and were suing for peace, and the British lost many men to disease.

Margate Roads is a deep-water anchorage north of Margate, Kent. The Royal Navy used the Margate Roads as a fleet anchorage.

We have already seen that Samuel Favell's father, John Favell, had been Master of The Clothworkers' Company in 1774. Samuel Favell had lost a "lucrative post" in 1792, and the Times implied this was because of his "seditious views". All that is now in the past. In 1813, Samuel Favell was appointed Master of The Clothworkers' Company, like his father. This position lasted for a single year, but it shows that Samuel Favell has completely regained his position of respectability.

Friday, Dec 10, 1818

Samuel Favell was interested in issues other than reforming representation in Parliament.

From "A Speech on Revising the Criminal Laws, before the Corporation of London" by Samuel Favell (printed later in 1819):

To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor:

We, the undersigned request your Lordship will call a Special Court for the purpose of considering the Propriety of Petitioning Parliament to revise the Criminal Code, in which numerous petty offences are visited with the same punishment as the most atrocious murders; as, minor offenders being seldom executed according to law, crimes have thereby increased rather than diminished; and praying that a more rigorous system of prison discipline may be adopted, whereby capital punishment may be mitigated, and criminals reformed.

... Privately stealing, to the value of five shillings, from a shop, or the perpetration of the most atrocious murder, are crimes regarded in our criminal code as meriting an equal punishment.

... What will you substitute for capital punishment? Whatever may be the difficulty of answering this question, it presses equally on all parties; for as not more than one capital convict in 20 or 30 is executed under the existing laws, other modes of punishment must be adopted; and Lord Ellenborough has said, that transportation to Botany Bay was now considered as only a summer excursion. Chastisement, followed by solitary confinement and hard labour,

properly apportioned, together with a classification of criminals, and suitable rewards to the reformed and deserving, - these seem to be the best modes of corrective discipline which have yet been suggested. ...

The suggested replacement punishments ("Chastisement, followed by solitary confinement and hard labour") may appal us, and I'm not sure that "transportation to Botany Bay" was ever "considered as only a summer excursion". Still, he was suggesting improvements on the current situation. He wants less capital punishment, and criminals reformed rather than just punished.

In the preface, he mentioned "the enlightened efforts of the Times" and other newspapers as supporting his point of view. What a turn-round from 1792!

In "Memoirs of Rev. Samuel Parr" by William Field:

Among the numerous witnesses summoned to appear on the trial of Major Cartwright, were Sir Francis Burdett, and Samuel Favell, Esq., one of the common-council of London; and the writer cannot deny himself the pleasure of recollecting a delightful day, passed in the company of these gentlemen, who did him the honour of accepting an invitation to dinner at Leam, where they were met by Dr. Parr, and a party of common friends. The number being small and select, the conversation freed from all restraint, soon became highly interesting and animated, especially on the part of the learned divine, and the illustrious senator. As might have been expected, at that turbulent season, politics were, with them, a leading topic of discussion; and the rashness and violence of the Liverpool-administration drew from both of them expressions of high indignation and abhorrence. Even the dreadful slaughter of unarmed and unresisting men and women at Manchester, they thought not so revolting to the feelings of justice and humanity, as the cool and deliberate approbation of it, expressed in the sovereign's name, by Lord Sidmouth and his colleagues. Considered

as the sudden and furious excess of zeal for loyalty, or alarm for public safety, it might have been apologised for, it was said, and pardoned. But to hold it forth as a legal and laudable act! - to adopt it as the measure of a regular government! - that, indeed, did appear to them horrible! What worse, it was asked, could be found in the summary justice, or the bloody executions, of barbarous states?

This is talking about the Peterloo Massacre, which happened at a famous demonstration demanding the reform of parliamentary representation, in 1819. The "mob" demanding reform were peaceful, it was the soldiers attacking them who were violent.

Major Cartwright founded the Society for Constitutional Information. In 1819, Cartwright was arrested for speaking at a parliamentary reform meeting in Birmingham, indicted for conspiracy and was condemned to pay a fine of £100.

Sir Francis Burdett was a reformist politician, advocate of popular rights and friend of Horne Tooke.

Favell is still in the company of noted reformers.

Tuesday, Jan 09, 1821

Another lively meeting is reported by the Times. Samuel Favell is supporting Queen Caroline, against George IV's attempt to divorce her. Favell is now 61 years old.

MEETING OF THE INHABITANTS of ST. GILES'S, CAMBERWELL

A public meeting of the inhabitants of this parish was summoned to be holden at the Golden Lion, at 6 or 7 o'clock yesterday evening, "to consider the propriety of presenting a dutiful and loyal Address to the Queen, congratulating her Majesty upon the failure of the late Bill of Pains and Penalties in the House of Lords; and also to consider the urgency of petitioning the House of Commons to institute an inquiry respecting the late unconstitutional proceedings

against her Majesty; and finally to consider the expediency of passing certain resolutions to be then proposed."

To detail the proceedings of this meeting is nothing more than to describe a scene of noise, riot, and confusion, such as we never before witnessed amongst individuals moving in the rank of gentlemen, during our career as public journalists. In the conduct of those who called the meeting, there was nothing covert or concealed. Their intentions were publicly known for several days preceding, and as the ultra-royal party felt that it was totally out of their power to meet their opponents fairly, they determined to effect by art that which they were well convinced they could not achieve either by strength of number or by force of argument. The ultras, it may be proper to observe had some time before voted, sub rosa, a snug loyal address, signed by about 300 persons, amongst whom we understand there were 16 non-residents of the parish, one pauper, and a quantum sufficit of the minor whippers-on of Government. This independent body of course deemed it a matter of some importance to prevent the real feelings of the parish from being promulgated; and to effect their object, a few of them, whose lungs might vie with those of a pack of fox-hounds, assembled in the great room at about half-past 6 o'clock. In a few minutes afterwards they became very clamorous for the chair to be taken, although it was well understood that the meeting was called at 6 for 7 o'clock, and although it was equally notorious that a committee of the gentlemen who had called the meeting was then sitting above stairs. At a quarter before seven, one of the ultra-loyal junta, with a stentorian voice, proposed "that William Pinchbeck, Esq. do take the chair." Whether this proposition was or was not seconded we cannot say, so violent was the storm of disapprobation which ensued. Of this, however, our reporter is certain - that the negative of the proposition was not put. Mr. Pinchbeck (who, through the evening, was denominated the base-metal chairman) conceived himself, no doubt, to be legally installed, took his place on the temporary hustings, amidst the most furious din that can be conceived. He appeared to be aware that the storm of opposition would assail him, and begged, in tremulous tone, that the ultras around would support

him. Scarcely had he been seated, when a gentleman proposed "that Mr. Favell do take the chair," which proposition, being duly seconded, was carried by a majority of at least six to one.

Mr. Pinchbeck exclaimed, that there could not be two chairmen. The chair, he insisted, was already taken, to which the great majority of the meeting responded, by cries of "Off! off!"

Mr. Pinchbeck requested the patience of the assembly for one minute only, but, alas! his request was unavailing.

A scene now ensued, which, for riot and uproar, could not find its parallel even in the parish of St. Giles's-in-the-field, a parish hitherto held pre-eminent in the science of rowing. Mr. Favell stood forward, and was assailed by the ultras with violent hisses, while his friends exerted themselves to procure him a hearing, to which he was undoubtedly entitled, having been placed in the chair by a very great majority.

After this contest had been carried on for some time,

Mr. FAVELL obtained a partial hearing - "Gentlemen," said he, "I hope you will allow me, under the peculiar situation in which I am placed, the honour to say a few words." (Hear, hear, and disapprobation.)

An Inhabitant - Ought not the individual in the chair be allowed to speak first? (Great uproar, and cries of "Mr. Favell is in the chair.")

Mr. FAVELL - Gentlemen, this is a very extraordinary measure; a measure such as I never before witnessed in the course of a long life. (Cries of "You're not now at Guildhall" and much uproar.)

Mr. GOOCH - Our (the ultra) party here mean to meet you fairly. We say, whoever he is, or whatever party he belongs to, let him be heard. ("No, no.") If we come here to argue, let us argue like men. ("You don't wish it, for all that.")

Mr. Pinchbeck, after looking at the requisition, demanded, as we understood, by what right Mr. Favell appeared there?

Mr. DODD, a gentleman of the legal profession - Oh! he means to carry everything by his own weight; but it won't do here.

Mr. FAVELL - I believe, gentlemen, that I am nearly one of the oldest inhabitants of this parish; and I can venture to appeal to my neighbours, whether, on any public occasion, I ever before troubled

them, in this parish, with respect to my political opinions, during my life. ("Why do you do so now?" Hisses, and approbation.)

An Inhabitant - Are the gentlemen in this room all parishioners? (Much uproar.)

Mr. DODD - Gentlemen, I am sorry you won't hear Mr. Favell, but it is clear you are all on the other side. (Laughter, and cried of "No, no.")

Mr. FAVELL - Is this the conduct of gentlemen who are fond of a constitution supported by freedom and liberality? Is it their plan not to allow a man who has been placed in the chair to deliver his sentiments? ("Cries of "Go on, don't mind the ruffians.") After gentlemen have heard a bill read which has called the meeting together at 6 for 7 o'clock, the usual course in such cases, was it right to attempt to place an individual in the chair before that hour? (Cries of "no bill has been read.") If gentlemen are so anxious to support a free constitution, why have they met in private? (Hisses and approbation.) Why do they not come forward and act a candid part? (Applause and hisses.) I call on them for the sake of common decency, for the sake of every thing respectable, to discuss fairly the subject which we met to consider. (Great uproar.)

Mr. DODD - Hear him, hear him, for the sake of decency; let us hear him. (Great tumult.)

Mr. FAVELL - Can the gentlemen I have the honour to address be friends to the real liberties and constitution of England? ("Yes, yes;" and loud approbation.) After having put out a bill, signed by 300 gentlemen, who took upon themselves to represent a parish containing 13,008 inhabitants, it was right that a proper meeting should be called to express the real sentiments of the parish. (Great applause, mingled with hisses.) These gentlemen are anxious, they say, to support the constitution in its purity; and yet they have not ventured to give an opinion respecting the conduct of his Majesty's ministers in the late proceedings against the Queen. (Great approbation.) These loyal gentlemen want to exalt the King by degrading the Queen. (Much clamour.)

An Inhabitant - There is no question before the chair. ("What is the question?")

Mr. FAVELL - Are these the gentlemen who complain of radical mobs? Why should those who act in such a manner complain of tumult? (Indignant cries of "They are the radical mobs themselves.") Gentlemen, I am proud this day to look them in the face. When they talk of loyalty, I would ask them, whether I did not, when my country was in danger, serve as a field-officer with a commission from his Majesty? (Much noise, and cried of "Favell to the chair." Shouts of, "Never, never;" and exclamations of "An able defender you were.") Mr. DODD and Dr. BEHN appeared to be peculiarly animated on this occasion.

An inhabitant - Dr. Behr, a patient wants you, and you are not often troubled with such a call; so you had better be off. (Laughter.)

Dr. BEHN - You will certainly have social order under Mr. FAVELL's auspices; it cannot be otherwise, and therefore you had better hear him. (The Doctor again called on our reporter not to state that the business was carried all one way. This address was answered by rather an unconciliatory expression of countenance, which occasioned the Doctor to exclaim "Oh Sir, you need not look so black at me.")

One of the most staunch and noisy supporters of Mr. Pinchbeck, chiefly remarkable for the want of several of his front teeth, mumbled out an invocation to our reporter not to give Mr. Favell a better speech than he had attempted to make; to which an inhabitant promptly replied, "Though it may be possible to improve Mr. Favell's speech, it is out of the power of human ingenuity to make you speak worse than you do." (A laugh.)

At this moment a regular conflict took place on the temporary hustings: the table was overthrown, the candles were upset, and the decanter with water, together with the glass, was smashed to pieces. This outrage originated with the ultra-loyal party, one of the most furious of whom, in endeavouring to shove the table against Mr. Favell, upset it and its contents on the persons of those who were standing below. A furious struggle now took place between the rival parties. Mr. Favell's friends were determined not to allow Mr. Pinchbeck to occupy a situation to which he had no just claim; while, on the other hand, the few, but sturdy, followers of Mr.

Pinchbeck appeared equally determined to uphold him in the chair. After a contest, in which some blows were given and received, Mr. Favell was placed in front of the hustings, from whence an attempt was made to dislodge him violently by a party of desperadoes, who assailed him from the rear of the hustings. Had not some gentlemen in front supported him, he must inevitably have been hurled to the ground. The contest was renewed, but was ultimately terminated in the triumph of Mr. Favell's friends; and Mr. Pinchbeck was forced to content himself with a seat at the back of the hustings, surrounded by his few discomfited adherents.

Mr. Favell having been re-established on the hustings, and the ruffians who had commenced the assault being restrained by the superior force of his friends from offering any further personal violence, the meeting proceeded to the business for which they had been assembled. The defeated ultras, the real radicals of the assembly, could only give vent to their disappointed rage by interrupting the proceedings with storms of hisses, in which the stupidity of the goose seemed to vie with the venom of the snake. The chairman having stated the object for which the parishioners were called together,

Sir GEORGE KEITH came forward and proposed an address to the Queen, congratulating her Majesty on the failure of the late attempts to degrade her by a bill of pains and penalties. (Loud applause.)

Mr. WARD seconded the address, which was carried almost unanimously, only a few hands at the back of the hustings being held up against it.

While the chairman, Mr. Favell, was in the act of putting the question on the address, one of the well-dressed bullies, who stood at a little distance from him on the left of the hustings, struck him with violence on the face with a newspaper rolled up tightly in the shape of a ball. No notice, however, was taken of this indecent outrage, as the individual could not be identified among the friends of order and loyalty by whom he was backed. This additional attempt to create such an affray as justified the introduction of a military force to clear the hall, having also failed, one more effort was made, and thanks to the moderation of the truly loyal gentlemen

who had called the meeting, it also proved nugatory. While Mr. Cockerill, a friend of Mr. Favell's was standing silent on the front of the hustings, attending to the observations of the chairman, a desperate ruffian, who stood behind him, struck him with tremendous force on the cheek with his clinched fist. The violence of the blow made Mr. Cockerill stagger, and, but for the support of the persons at the hustings, he must have fallen to the ground. The wretch who committed this outrage, with that cowardice which ever characterizes a bully, instantly slunk back among the abettors of the riot, as a pickpocket rushes into a crowd of his associates when in danger of being detected. Mr. Cockerill went round to the back of the hustings, and asked a gentleman, who was pointed out to him as the guilty individual, whether he was the person who had struck him, intending to settle the matter personally with him after the meeting. This individual, however, whose exterior was that of a gentleman, denied that he had given the blow. The business of the meeting, in the mean time, proceeded.

Mr. RYLAND moved that a petition be presented to the House of Commons, praying them to institute an inquiry into the late unconstitutional proceedings against her Majesty.

Mr. COCKERHILL seconded the motion. It was carried by a majority of at least 6 to 1. The petition was then read by Mr. Ryland, and adopted by the same majority.

Mr. BELL then moved the following resolutions as declaratory of the sentiments of the meeting:

"Resolved - that although we protest against certain resolutions passed at a private meeting lately held at the Green Coat School, the Rev. Edw. Smith, Vicar, in the chair, as expressing the sense of the inhabitants of Camberwell, yet we are of opinion with them that some disaffected and disloyal men have endeavoured to bring our admirable constitution into hatred and contempt, and we declare our determine to maintain and support it.

"But as they have not designated any class of men to whom they refer, we are of the opinion that his Majesty's ministers have done more to degrade the altar and the throne, and to bring our admirable constitution into hatred and contempt, than any other

body of men in the country, especially by their late and unjust and impolitic measures to degrade the Queen, and to divorce her from his Majesty by a Bill of Pains and Penalties, contrary both to the spirit of our laws, and to the divine precepts of the Gospel; and notwithstanding the House of Commons had declared that such proceedings would be derogatory to the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country, they persisted in bringing down their bill in the House of Lords, whereby the most corrupt and licentious topics were brought before the public, highly offensive to all good men, and injurious to the morals of the rising generation.

"We further declare that we will not yield to any class of our fellow subjects in attachment to the King, Queen, and Constitution, but we will never admit that any persons at private meetings shall appear to monopolize the loyalty of their neighbourhood, while they are silent on the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers towards the Queen, and insinuate that all those who wish to reform the abuses that time and corruption have produced are enemies to the government. We claim the right to petition against all those grievances which may arise from evil counsellors about the person of their sovereign, or from any other causes, which right was established at the glorious revolution, 1688, by the Act of Settlement tendered to and accepted by King William and Queen Mary. And while we are firmly attached to old England, its laws and liberties, and to the illustrious House of Brunswick, we will never consent by arbitrary and constitutional measures to degrade the Queen, and thereby undermine the best securities of the British throne."

This resolution was seconded by Mr. Lemaitre, and was carried with enthusiastic cheers, not more than a dozen hands being held up against it.

Mr. FAVELL then returned thanks to the truly loyal part of the meeting for the support they had given, and declared the meeting dissolved.

Mr. FAVELL, accompanied by many of his friends, then left the room; and immediately afterwards, the adherents of Mr. Pinchbeck placed him in the chair amidst the loudest tumult.

Mr. DODD then moved what we understood to be a resolution declaratory of the inexpediency of addressing the Queen. For this we cannot pledge ourselves, the excessive noise having prevented us from hearing him distinctly; but the resolution, whatever it was, was negatived by a large majority. A vote of thanks proposed to Mr. Pinchbeck met with the same fate.

The business of the meeting was concluded at a quarter before 8 o'clock.

We have been furnished with a list of the signatures to the loyal declaration of St. Giles's, Camberwell. Of the persons who have come forward to declare the sentiments of this parish, 16 are not parishioners, and one is a pauper, receiving 15s. a week from the poor rates.

"*sub rosa*" - (Latin) secret

"*quantum sufficit*" - (Latin) sufficient quantity

"rowing" - making a row - nothing to do with boats!

"*hustings*" - stage for the chairman and important people at the meeting

Part of the Times editorial:

The meeting, regularly called by the inhabitants of Camberwell to address the QUEEN yesterday, was attempted to be prevented in a most disgraceful manner. ... The efforts of these law-breaking supporters of Government were completely frustrated; and the firmness and forebearance of the Chairman, Mr. Favell, and his rational adherents, succeeded in carrying the objects for which they assembled.

Compare this with the earlier lively meeting at Merchant Taylor's Hall. Favell is still the target for abuse and even physical violence (and remember, he is now over 60). He is also still one of the political reformers, attacking the government and, surreptitiously, even the king. But now the Times solidly supports him and his cause, and disapproves of the violence.

Samuel Favell wrote a couple of letters to the Times about this meeting. In one of them, he is indignant that Mr. Pinchbeck and his friends refused to pay the landlord of the Golden Lion (the meeting place) for the damage caused by the meeting. So the committee organising the meeting had to pay it instead, which seems unfair. But I am glad that the landlord did get paid!

Summary of Favell's life

Samuel Favell continued to be a Common Councilman until 1829. He died a year later, in 1830. The Gentleman's Magazine 1830 printed an obituary. This included part of an address to his constituents when he retired:

I have diligently attended the Courts of Common Council, and its various committees, and have taken an active part in many political contests, without making, I trust, any personal enemies. I have witnessed repeated decisions of the Court in favour of Parliamentary reforms, and petitions for the revision of the criminal code, for the abolition of slavery, and for the great cause of religious liberty, which has signally triumphed.

I have lived to see great alterations in public opinion; one striking fact upon this subject may suffice. I joined the Constitutional Society soon after Sir Wm. Jones became a member of it. The Dean of St. Asaph (Mr. Shipley) presented us with a very temperate dialogue, written by Sir William, in favour of Parliamentary reform. It was immediately prosecuted ... as seditious, and it was tried before Justice Buller. ... The enlightened state of the public mind has arisen in great measure from the power of the press, and the influence of general education.

... In looking back to the history of 40 years, filled with events of the most extraordinary and momentous that have ever occurred in the annals of civilised Europe, it is gratifying to reflect that the constitutional principles by which I endeavoured to regulate my conduct in early life, although they exposed me to much opposition and contumely, are now become the avowed sentiments of the ablest and best men of the age, and have, in many instances, been brought into efficient operation for the benefit of the public, by the enlightened members of His Majesty's Government.

At the start of this story, I called Samuel Favell an English Revolutionary. He never "manned the barricades", and there are no gallant deaths in this story. Yet as he said in his farewell address, England changed through his life. It changed because of people like him, who believed in the Rights of

Man. The Times originally thought of him as seditious, but came to support him as rational and respectable, and he lived to applaud "the power of the press" helping to produce "the enlightened state of the public mind".

The Representation of the People Act of 1832 was the first of the Reform Acts. It granted seats in the House of Commons to large cities that had sprung up during the Industrial Revolution, and removed seats from the "rotten boroughs": those with very small electorates and usually dominated by a wealthy patron. It was passed two years after Samuel Favell's death.

I am afraid Sam Favell did not even look like a revolutionary. All those Revolutionary dinners seem to have left their mark!



Plate 2

SAMUEL FAVELL ESQ^{RE}

*Printed by
J. & J. M. 1795
of St. Paul's Church*

An Early Salvationist

1883

Introducing Maud and her father

This is a story of the relationship between a father, Samuel Charlesworth, and his daughter, Maud. It is set during the early days of the Salvation Army and the main action takes place in 1883.

First we must introduce the people in the story.

Rev. Samuel Charlesworth was a Church of England vicar. A newspaper account at his retirement says "*Mr. Charlesworth is a large-hearted Evangelical, and has worked most devotedly and self-denyingly, and at the same time, most simply and unostentatiously.*" He started at a countryside parish, but his conscience drove him to work among the London poor in Limehouse. He married his cousin, Maria Amelia Charlesworth, and they both found great satisfaction in this work. His uncle, and wife's father, Richard Boswell Beddome, was a rich London lawyer, who was generous to his wider family. Samuel was close to his sister, Maria Louisa Charlesworth, who wrote popular religious books. She had retired to a pretty countryside cottage, and Samuel's family enjoyed visiting her.

In the early 1880's, Samuel Charlesworth's life fell apart. His sister died on 6 January 1880, so now the family could no longer have visits to the healthy countryside. Then his rich uncle died on Sept 8, 1881. Finally, his wife fell ill from the dirt and pollution of Limehouse. Samuel retired so they could live somewhere healthier, but too late; his wife died on Nov 8 1881. So in under two years, he had lost his sister, uncle, wife and job.

Samuel was now 64 years old. He had three daughters. The oldest did not seem to cause any problems, and the middle daughter, Florence, was hastily married off to her long-standing fiancé. The youngest daughter was Maud Charlesworth.

Maud Charlesworth was about 16 years old when her mother died. She had also lost her aunt, the inspirational author, with the country cottage for family visits. She had lost her grandfather. She described him like this *"We always celebrated Christmas at [his house] with a big and enjoyable family gathering. Grandfather was wealthy and very generous to all his children and grandchildren."* But not any longer.

Finally, of course, there was the death of her mother. Maria Amelia Charlesworth not only worked tirelessly among the London poor, she also addressed large meetings on religious issues. She was a potent role model for young Maud, but her death left an enormous emotional void. Maud, like both her parents, had a strong character and strong views. She came from a highly religious family. Her father's father had worked with Wilberforce against slavery. Her mother's family were descended from Benjamin Beddome, a noted Baptist minister and hymn-writer (Samuel Favell's father-in-law). It was natural that she should try to find meaning for her life in religion. She became interested in the Salvation Army, a new and exciting religious movement which worked among the poor. Her father was very concerned, as he did not approve of their extravagant behaviour.

Maud's relationship with her elderly father was remote. Her favourite sister had just got married. And so on the death of her mother, she looked for a substitute family, which she found with the Booth family. William Booth was the founder of the Salvation Army. He called himself General Booth, and is usually referred to in the Times report below as "General" Booth. The Salvation Army was frequently criticised at this time. William Booth was always quick to write to the Times to counter the criticism. The General's wife and children were also part of the Salvation Army. Two of the children are important for this story. Catherine Booth was also known as "la Maréchale". She was the friend of Maud Charlesworth. Ballington Booth was the second son of William Booth, and he comes into the end of the story.

The last group of characters are the Times journalists. The editor seems to vary the newspaper's attitude towards the Salvation Army. There is a

feeling of "This is a new phenomenon, rather strange, and how on earth should we react to it?" The Geneva correspondent reports events in Switzerland. His attitude towards the Salvation Army also seems to fluctuate. I do wonder if he was susceptible to women! He quotes approvingly at different times, Catherine Booth of the Salvation Army, Countess Agénor de Gasparin who wrote a vicious pamphlet against the Salvation Army, and Maud herself. Maud later describes him as "*our friend from the Times*".

The story unfurls through articles, letters and editorials in the Times.

Maud Charlesworth



Salvation Army in England

Our main story will start in Switzerland, in February, 1883. But first we must go back a few weeks, to see how the Salvation Army is treated elsewhere. We start in England.

Wednesday, Dec 20, 1882

A report in the Times:

The Bishop of Durham on the Salvation Army: In the second part of his charge, delivered at Bishop Auckland, the Bishop of Durham dwelt at considerable length on the Salvation Army and its relationship to the Church. The Army, he said, had now been in existence for 17 years, though its most rapid strides had been made within the last four or five years. Its leading characteristic was from one point of view its great recommendation. It emphatically disclaimed the intention of setting up a new sect. Whatever might be its extravagances or its short-comings, it aimed at a distinct moral reform in its converts. Nor could its success be denied. If it had done nothing else, it would have achieved a notable triumph in reclaiming so many drunkards in the name of Christ. But the exaltation of sensationalism into a system was perilous in the extreme. The most solemn events of Biblical history were travestied and the Saviour's name was profaned in parodies and common songs. Awe and reverence were the soul of religious life. He, therefore, who degraded the chief objects of religion by profane associations, struck, however unintentionally, at the root of religion. Nor, again, was there any justification of the encouragement given to children six or eight years old to advertise publicly their own conversion and as publicly to announce the non- conversion of their parents. Yet that was the staple of the news in the columns of Little Soldier. What, therefore, should the demeanour of Churchmen towards the Salvation Army? The attitudes of the rulers of the Church towards Wesley in the last century had been deeply deplored in more recent times; and there had naturally been an anxiety not to repeat the

mistake. For that reason whenever he had been consulted by the clergy, he had advised them to cultivate friendly relations with the Salvationists as far as could be done without any unworthy compromise. Accordingly, special services had been held with his approval in some churches for members of the Salvation Army; and in other ways co-operation had been found possible in some localities.

The Bishop of Durham is prepared to acknowledge the good that the Salvation Army does, but still has strong criticisms. Note particularly the claim that the Salvation Army encourages young children to claim religious superiority over their parents - that is important for our story. He ends by pragmatically encouraging "friendly relations with the Salvationists as far as could be done without any unworthy compromise".

However, the Salvation Army selectively quoted from this unenthusiastic speech as support for their own publications - see this later advert in the Times:

Tuesday Feb 20: The Salvation War 1882, containing the Annual Report and Balance-Sheet of the Salvation Army, can be had on application (enclosing six stamps) to Headquarters, 101, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C. Also, 2s. each, the undermentioned. The Lord Bishop of Durham said in his charge:- "I strongly recommend those of my clergy who have not done so already to make themselves acquainted with the chief publications of the movement, such as 'Salvation Soldier', 'Aggressive Christianity', 'Heathen England', and the like. I recommend this, not only because they cannot otherwise obtain a full knowledge of the significance of the movement, alike in its strengths and weaknesses, but still more because, if I mistake not, they will find in them many stimulating and suggestive thoughts which will aid them in their own parochial organizations and ministry."

I wonder what the Bishop thought of this!

Saturday, Jan 13, 1883

Two reports in the Times:

The Salvation Army: The violent opposition at Croydon to the operations of the Salvation Army has culminated in a serious disturbance. The disorder began on Thursday night, and was continued last evening. A body of roughs stormed the "barracks" in the Tamworth Road; the windows were broken and other damage done. A strong body of police had to be mustered before the crowd could be dispersed.

A telegram from Plymouth says:- "The Home Secretary has called to account the Honiton magistrates, who are only two in number, the Mayor and ex-Mayor, for their proceedings in relation to the Salvation Army. Sir William Harcourt asks 'whether it is true that the protection of the police was refused against these outrageous proceedings, and also what measures were taken to preserve the peace and order of the town: whether the statement is true that Mr. Hook, the ex-Mayor, declared beforehand that he would dismiss all the cases that were brought before him which arose out of these disturbances, and whether the newspaper report of the proceedings before the Bench is correct, particularly in the case of Samuel Stone, who was clearly proved, on the evidence of a police-sergeant and a police-constable, to have pelted a woman, and who was nevertheless discharged.' The Mayor has replied, admitting the correctness of the newspaper reports, and also of the language attributed to the ex-Mayor, but denying that the protection of the police was ever actually refused."

In Croydon, the mob, "a body of roughs", is causing damage to a Salvation Army building, and needs the police to disperse them.

However, in Honiton, Devon, the local magistrates disapprove of the Salvation Army so much that they will not prosecute violence against them. The Home Secretary calls them to account!

Tuesday, Jan 16, 1883

The Salvation Army versus the "Skeleton Army":

At Worship Street, Frederick Marsh, 30, described as a labourer, of Cambridge Road, Bethnal Green, was charged with being drunk and throwing stones in Shepherdess Walk, City Road. The charge arose out of the congregation of the Salvation Army at the Grecian Theatre, and the evidence of police-constables 362 G and 366 G showed that at about 4 o'clock on Sunday afternoon a march out of the "army" resulted in the congregation of a great number of other men, who also marched in quasi- military organization and, like the Salvationists, played musical instruments. There have been numerous references to an organization called the "Skeleton Army" as marching about the streets, but it was also said that they claimed the right to march as freely as the Salvation Army. The police said that there were householders in the neighbourhood of the Grecian Theatre and the City Road anxious to state how great was the nuisance to the neighbourhood from the disturbance originated by the Salvation Army; nothing like quiet was to be obtained on the Sunday. Chief Inspector Hunt, G Division, who had attended the court with reference to this case, said that on the previous day there must have been at least 5,000 persons assembled, and between the two marching bodies there was at one time a great fight imminent. The Salvationists seem to claim a monopoly of the road. The police had to be hastily reinforced, but only in time to prevent a serious disturbance. He (Inspector Hunt) wished to know, on behalf of Superintendent Fidge, if the magistrate would give some advise as to how the police ought to proceed in the matter. Mr. Hannay said he certainly could not. The police had a legal adviser, and he would know best what were the duties of the police within the law. If the law was not strong enough, that became a matter for Parliament. The evidence having shown that the prisoner was seen to throw stones, though he did not appear to belong to either of the so-called

*"armies", Mr. Hannay fined him 10s. or seven days' imprisonment.
The money was paid.*

The London police sound rather exasperated at the Salvation Army. All that noise on Sundays! They are asking for advice about how to deal with the situation (but they don't get it). Everyone is quite sure, however, that you shouldn't throw stones at people.

The general feeling seems to be that the Salvation Army are a nuisance, and parts of their religion are undignified or even suspect. Yet they do some good, and their persons and property should certainly be defended from violence just as anyone else's would be.

Maud Charlesworth lived in London and first met the Salvation Army there. Her father also lived in London. He read the Times. Possibly he may have seen some of the violence of the mob against the Salvation Army. Rather a worrying environment for his young daughter...

L'Évangéliste by Alphonse Daudet

Rev. Samuel Charlesworth arranged for his daughter Maud to stay in Paris with her friend, Catherine Booth, who was the daughter of General Booth. Things seemed less heated over there.

Alphonse Daudet was a French novelist who had already published a number of novels. "L'Évangéliste" was first published in a newspaper during 1882-3, then published in book form in 1883. Its plot and background have a relevance for our subsequent story. These articles from the Times overlap the previous ones.

Saturday, Dec 30, 1882

A report in the Times:

A collision between M. Daudet and the Salvation Army would have appeared highly improbable; yet it has just happened. M. Daudet's eldest boy is taking German lessons from a lady. She appeared very depressed, let fall some tears one day upon her book, and on being privately questioned, explained that her daughter had left her to work for the Salvationists. Thereupon, M. Daudet's indignation induced a desire to depict the invasion of those extreme forms of Protestantism which he oddly calls "The Anglican Plague". He made inquiries, attended Salvationist meetings, and has worked up his materials into a story, entitled "L'Évangéliste," which is now appearing in the Figaro. A writer in that paper vouches for the close relationship between the facts and the story, and he hints that the Salvationists are liable to a prosecution, the heroine being perhaps a minor. A Protestant pastor is introduced, in order to show that M. Daudet has no animus against ordinary forms of Protestantism. The explanation given today would seem to imply that M. Daudet's readers have for three weeks been puzzled at his taking such a subject, and that it is necessary to stimulate their appetite for it, by holding up the Salvation Army as a new and dangerous malady.

"Anglican" in Britain refers to the Church of England, which is hardly an extreme Protestant sect! While the putative background to this novel is given clearly, the Times does hint that this might be a stunt. However, we have the accusation that the Salvation Army has caused a daughter to leave her mother to join them.

Friday, Jan 5, 1883

A letter to the Times from General Booth, the leader of the Salvation Army:

The Salvation Army in Paris

To the Editor of the Times

Sir, My attention having been called to the reproduction of your French correspondent of some statements of a certain French paper on the 30th ult., I have had the files of the paper examined and can imagine no object but that of advertisement to account for the strange attempt to connect us with a story differing so widely in all its personnel and lines from ours.

At a time, however, while the public are so much interested in us, not only in London and India, but in Stockholm and Geneva, as well as Paris, I think it is important to say that there is not the slightest foundation in fact for the representation that we have induced some young lady to leave her mother for the service of this Army, whether in France or anywhere else. The way in which this newspaper in question accounts for the quiescence of the outraged mother, from whom we have never heard, is truly amusing. "This woman, so noble in her misfortunes, wishes to remain an obscure martyr" - a martyr to the exigencies of a journalist whose feuilleton does not sufficiently attract.

I only hope that this strange invention may not be repeated, like so many more, by our influential critics as a well- authenticated fact.

Yours faithfully, William Booth, Jan. 4.

William Booth defends the Salvation Army. He points out that this so-called injured mother has not complained. Remember this for later!

Thursday, Jan 11, 1883

The book is published:

(By telegraph) France. Paris, Wednesday, Jan 10: M. Daudet, who has at present taken no notice of "General" Booth's denial of the alleged foundation of his story, "L'Évangéliste", has just completed its publication in the Figaro. It will be republished in book form, and its readers will, of course, judge it on its own merits, irrespective of any controversy as to the Salvation Army. Assuming, however, the possibility of the main idea - the inveigling of a girl just under age by a Protestant zealot, a banker's wife, leaving the mother broken-hearted, and almost penniless - M. Daudet has certainly shown his usual skill in delineating character, and his dramatic force and pathos in developing the plot. Some of the incidents may be tinged with exaggeration; but he is certainly correct in depicting the hopelessness there might be, in such a case, of obtaining redress, owing to the timidity of advocates and foreign consuls, and the fear of confinement as a lunatic. M. de Parville, the scientific contributor to the Débats, in an article in that paper on mental aberration, speaks of M. Daudet's novel, from his own standpoint as follows:-

In a recent novel, M. A. Daudet has just delineated, with his master hand, the terrible ravages and contagion of this deadly malady (religious fanaticism). His brilliant sketch, intoxicating with the pungency of its truth, ought to be hung up as a warning in front of those temples of selfish fanaticism whose votaries, methodically and with incomparable self-complacency, are endeavouring to produce the decadence of the human mind, and the stultification of the race, together with religious hatred and madness."

I suspect that the Times is avoiding outright conflict with General Booth, but manages to get in some sly digs by quoting someone else!

Tuesday, Jan 23, 1883

A review of the book (I have only given certain parts - it is a very long review):

"L'Évangéliste": M. Alphone Daudet's last novel is likely to find readers in England, for it is an attack, from a very French point of view, on the Salvation Army. The latest development of Protestant zealotry is not stigmatized by name in the book, but the author has described an imaginary community of Port-Sauveur, the members of which talk as the Salvationists do and act as M. Daudet appears to believe they do. Parisian newspapers have been careful to tell us that M. Daudet found most of his models at the meetings of the Armée du Salut, and that he wrote his book under the influence of strong resentment produced by the conversion of a member of his own household, an English governess. We only allude to this on dit because, if true, it explains how the author of "le Nabab" has for once turned out an inartistic piece of work. He lets it be seen that he is angry, and he is so intent on blackening the objects of his aversion that they are presented as mere daubs, with no human outlines. This is a pity, ...

[Eline] writes to her mother, saying that she intends to devote herself to missionary work, and vanishes from Paris, leaving no clue as to her whereabouts... If a real Eline fell into Protestant excesses, it is to be feared she might become a sore worry to her friends by wearing an ugly bonnet and talking to them through her nose on subjects which it is most agreeable to hear discussed in a natural voice; but there would certainly be very little mystery about what she did, and her mother would be at pains to moderate her ardour for publicity, rather than to get news of where she was lurking.

The reviewer obviously doesn't think much of the book. In fact, he even gets some of the details wrong, since it is the mother who is the governess (in the book and real life) rather than the daughter. The reviewer does point out that a young zealot Protestant preacher is more likely to embarrass her parent with her public actions, and "wearing an ugly

bonnet", rather than disappearing. This will be part of our later story as well.

We know that Rev. Samuel Charlesworth read the Times, so he would have read these articles about "L'Évangéliste". He was already worrying about his young daughter Maud Charlesworth, who had been with the Salvation Army in Paris, and now was now in Geneva. The account of this book must have had a strong effect on him. The Geneva story follows. But first...

Wednesday, Feb 14, 1883

Another theory about the novel:

France, Paris, Tuesday, Feb 13: One of the inconveniences of the interviewing now becoming systematic in France is that the victims or patients do not seem to think it necessary to repudiate misstatements fathered upon them. Of this there have been two striking examples...

M. Daudet, again, was described by a writer in the Figaro, during its publication of "L'Évangéliste," as exposing the Salvation Army, and as having attended its meetings in order to become thoroughly acquainted with it. M. Daudet did not repudiate this key to his story; but he remained silent when "General" Booth denied that anything of the kind had occurred in his "Army"; and another writer in the same paper now gives an entirely different key. The story has nothing to do with the Salvation Army, but with "Une orthodoxie Parisienne; une Société de Fous Millionnaires," which apparently means some organisation of the Orthodox section of the Reformed Church. This second writer absurdly attributes the Swiss riots to his predecessor's blunder, whom, however, he imitates in his protestations that the story is entirely true. Perhaps a third writer will exculpate in turn the Reformed Church; and meanwhile the safest thing for the public is to assume that the work is a pure fiction, depicting merely what might happen through religious fanaticism.

So it was nothing to do with the Salvation Army after all. And the riots in Switzerland? Read on!

The Salvation Army in Switzerland

Now we start our story properly. We need to backtrack a little, to show how the situation developed. The reports from the Geneva correspondent are dated a day before the newspaper publication as the report needs to travel to head office.

Thursday, Feb 1, 1883

A report in the Times:

The Salvation Army in Switzerland. Geneva, Jan 31: The proceedings of the Salvation Army in this part of Switzerland are attracting considerable attention and much angry controversy. Here at Geneva, where their meetings have been interrupted and their processions attacked by organized bands of rioters, M. Héridier, head of the Department of Justice and Police, has peremptorily refused them the protection of the law. When questioned on the subject in the Great Council, he declared that he would not move a single gendarme to help people who were so stupid as to give themselves military titles and seek to obtain converts by talking about blood, battles, and fire; and his declaration was warmly applauded by a majority of the members. At Neuchâtel, a man who had been arrested by the police for disturbing a meeting was rescued by the crowd; and an Englishman, wrongly suspected of belonging to the army, was hunted through the streets and seriously maltreated. Similar scenes have been enacted at Chaux-de-Fonds and Bienne.

"Organized bands of rioters" are disrupting the Salvation Army meetings. The authorities in Geneva think this is the fault of the Salvation Army, and refuse to protect them.

Friday, Feb 2, 1883

A letter to the Times from General Booth, the leader of the Salvation Army:

The Salvation Army

To the Editor of the Times

Sir, - We observe with astonishment your report in connexion with our work in Switzerland. No procession has ever been proposed in Switzerland, the greatest difficulty being to secure halls large enough for the crowds of attentive hearers when we gather. The disorder created by some young men at first was soon put down by a voluntary association of gentlemen who did not want their country to be disgraced by any appearance of intolerance. It is quite true that the attention of Switzerland is remarkably aroused, and that there have been disturbances at Brienne and perhaps other towns, where none of our people have even yet been, upon the mere supposition that they were there. The same attempts to create disorder at Neuchâtel, where our announcements were of the quietest sort, as at Geneva, shows that the character of our bills has nothing at all to do with the matter. And that all this should occur in quiet Switzerland, after one month's services, all held indoors, mostly in small rooms, shows how entirely they are mistaken who represent our processions and so on as the cause of disorder in England. It is the same story everywhere; we are in the front of a life and death struggle against unbelief, drunkenness, and other vices which National Assemblies fear to grapple with, but which must be overcome if the nations are not to be handed over to ruinous debauchery and ruffianism.

The Sémaine Religieuse of Geneva admits that we have already in that city from 300 to 400 adherents, and that ladies from the foremost Swiss families attend our ladies' meetings. The Journal de Genève has also, in leader after leader, defended us from the strange attacks which find such astonishing sympathy it seems in England; and the Minister of Justice and Police may find it less easy than he imagines to stifle the expression of a revived faith in the old truths which so many would now consign to oblivion if they could,

but which, faithfully proclaimed, are bringing to disturbers and sceptics in Switzerland, as in England, a new life.

I am, your faithfully, William Booth.

*The Salvation Army Headquarters - 101, Queen Victoria Street,
London, E.C., Feb 1*

General Booth again leaps to defend the Salvation Army. He seizes on an inaccuracy in the previous report; there have been no Salvationist processions in Switzerland. Booth attacks the "astonishing sympathy" for the opponents of the Salvation Army in England, but I think that the Times report has been even-handed.

In London, when similar violence happens, the authorities now act promptly against it.

At Clerkenwell, James Flynn, 19, a labourer, was charged with maliciously cutting and wounding George William Heywood, on the 29th ult., in Nelson Passage, St Luke's. The complainant, a member of the Salvation Army, was leaving the Old Grecian Theatre, in the City Road, on Sunday afternoon, when the prisoner, who was standing at the gateway, accompanied by a mob of young roughs, followed him, hooting. On reaching Nelson Passage, a short distance off, the prisoner said "Take that," at the same time stabbing him in the arm with some sharp instrument, which he did not see. Complainant had not sustained a very serious wound. It was shown that a large mob was congregated round the Grecian Theatre, waiting for the members of the Salvation Army to leave. The prisoner, when taken into custody, said that he was innocent, and never had a knife of any kind in his possession. Mr. Hosack said, apparently, if the complainant had not put up his arm to protect himself, he would have been mortally wounded. It was perfectly monstrous that the members of the Salvation Army should be treated in this way. He committed the prisoner to the Sessions for trial.

Meanwhile, the violence in Geneva continues.

The Salvation Army in Switzerland. Geneva, Feb 1: The offices of the Salvation Army here were this afternoon attacked by a mob, who broke the windows, and committed other excesses; but nobody seems to have been hurt. The gendames only appeared after the rioters had dispersed. No arrests were made.

Neuchâtel (elsewhere in Switzerland) has a different attitude.

Switzerland Neuchâtel, Feb 1: A proclamation has been issued by the Cantonal Government condemning the recent attacks upon the Salvation Army in the town and the disturbances to which they gave rise. The government exhorts the citizens to respect religious liberty and the right of public meeting.

Tuesday, Feb 6, 1883

The Salvationist meetings are interdicted:

The Salvation Army in Switzerland. Geneva, Feb 5: The Cantonal Government here have followed up their declaration, that it is not the duty of the State to protect the Salvation Army from outrage, by interdicting their meetings. The Salvationists intended to hold a meeting on Friday night; but shortly before the hour for opening a proclamation was issued, stating that, in view of reports received from the Department of Justice and Police, by which it appears that the religious opinions held by a group calling themselves "the Salvation Army," acting under the direction of foreigners not domiciled in the canton, have been preceded by convocations of a nature to agitate the population, that the proceedings of the individuals in question have given rise to much opposition, and that the public tranquillity is thereby continually disordered, the exercises of the Salvation Army are ordered to be temporarily suspended.

The proclamation, which emanates from the Council of State, is issued in virtue of a law passed in 1876, which vests in the

lieutenant of police the inspection of cafés, cabarets, and other places of public resort. On the other hand, the Federal Constitution guarantees to Swiss citizens, all cantonal laws to the contrary notwithstanding, all rights of public meeting; and had the meetings of the Salvationists been convoked by natives of the country, the Council of State could not have interdicted them. Switzerland, so far as concerns its own people, is perhaps the freest country in Europe; but foreigners live here only on sufferance, and it would be quite competent for the Government to expel every leader of the Salvation Army from the canton tomorrow, on the ground, true or false, that their presence has a disturbing effect on the public mind.

No charge whatever has been made against the Army; and the disturbances which have no doubt taken place are due, not to any proceedings of theirs, but to the apathy of the police, an apathy of which, as I have already informed you, the Head of the Department a few days ago warmly expressed his approval. On Friday the Government organ coolly informed the Salvationists that as they had sown the wind, they must reap the whirlwind. The Salvationists have not been the only victims. Inoffensive persons (including friends of my own) have been hustled, insulted, and chased through the streets, to the cry of "Throw the mummers into the lake!" merely because, being English, they might be Salvationists. As to the conduct of the authorities, the Journal de Genève, one of the most moderate and influential papers in Switzerland, stigmatizes it in terms which, if I was to use them, would expose me to charges of prejudice and exaggeration. It says:-

"The proclamation of the Council of State does not contain one word of blame for the individuals who, for the last 15 days, have been dishonouring our city by disturbing meetings held in private rooms, and attacking inoffensive people in public streets. The Government manifesto keeps all its severities for the victims of these outrages; for those strangers or citizens who have been attacked, chased, insulted, and maltreated by ruffians still remaining unpunished; and the victory which they have gained over our laws is decisive and complete. The Government, charged to execute the law, has lowered its flag before evildoers, and made itself subservient to

them; while we blush with shame when we contrast the language of our Council of State with the Cantonal Council of Neuchâtel."

The journal then charges the Government with having deliberately encouraged the rioters, in order to attain the end avowed by the Great Council by M. Hérédier - the silencing of men whose religious practices and opinions are displeasing to them - and concludes with demanding for Geneva liberty equal to that enjoyed by Neuchâtel.

The Journal de Genève is probably quite right in attributing the action of the Council of State to dislike of the religious views of the Salvation Army. The Government of Geneva is at present in the hands of doctinaire Jacobins, of the same class as those who have just voted the prescription of the French Prince. While demanding the widest tolerance for themselves, they would deny it to all who differ from them. Religion is their bête noire; and the same men who two years ago expelled two French priests, because they had been announced to preach in a Catholic chapel, have suppressed the meetings of the Salvation Army because they agitate people's minds.

By quoting the local anti-government newspaper, the Geneva correspondent shows his own disapproval of the Geneva government's actions. The Salvation Army are British, after all!

M. Hérédier was the head of the Department of Justice and Police in Geneva.

"Jacobin" here is used to mean left-wing revolutionary politicians which show dogmatism and violent repression.

Wednesday, Feb 7, 1883

Reactions to the suppression of Salvationist meetings:

The Salvation Army in Switzerland. Geneva, Feb 6: A protest, signed by a number of the most respectable citizens of Geneva, has been addressed to the Council of State against the suppression of the meetings of the Salvation Army. The protest points out that to

interdict the assembling of any religious body is a violation of the letter and the spirit of the Cantonal, as well as of the Federal Constitution; and that the Law of 1816, which is held to justify the action of the police, was virtually repealed by the Constitution of 1847. The fact is also dwelt upon, that, although the meetings of the Salvation Army were convened by two or three foreigners, the audience were almost entirely Swiss citizens; and Swiss citizens have an unquestionable right to meet and worship without let or hindrance.

Whether these representations will have any effect it is impossible to say, but grave doubts are entertained in well informed quarters as to the legality of the course which the Council have thought fit to adopt. "Colonel" Clibborn, of the Salvation Army, has had a interview on that subject with the British Minister at Berne; and it is probable that steps will be taken to test the point. The refusal of the Geneva police to protect English subjects from the attacks of the mob will form a separate subject of complaint, as showing the extreme inconsistency of the Government on this matter. It may be mentioned that the placards convening the meetings, which it is now alleged were of a nature to agitate the public mind, had the sanction of the authorities; for no advertisements whatever can be placarded on the walls of the city without being first seen and approved by the police. They have, moreover, one measure for the Anarchists and another for the Salvationists. While the latter are allowed to convoke meetings which they are then forbidden to hold, the former are permitted to hold meetings which they had not been permitted to convoke.

The disapproval of the government's actions are based on the fact that the Swiss have the "right to meet and worship without let or hindrance". The government's disapproval of the Salvationists seems to be because they are foreign.

Thursday, Feb 8, 1883

The situation in Berne:

The Salvation Army in Switzerland. Berne, Feb 7: The Bernese Government have forbidden any meeting of the Salvation Army within the Canton.

Saturday, Feb 10, 1883

The situation in Neuchâtel and elsewhere:

The Salvation Army in Switzerland. Geneva, Feb 9: It is not the fact that any members of the Salvation Army have left Geneva and Neuchâtel for Berne, or that their meetings at Neuchâtel have been prohibited. The police of Neuchâtel simply requested "Captain" Beckett to discontinue his evening services for a few days, until the public excitement had somewhat abated - a request with which he willingly complied - but the daily services are going on as usual. There are only six English officers of the Salvation Army are present in Switzerland, three are here and three at Neuchâtel. Their converts, at both places, number about 350.

Appeals for redress have been lodged with the Consuls of France, Belgium, and Germany by citizens of those States who were maltreated during the general lawlessness that prevailed last week. Two French gentlemen depose that they were stoned through one of the main thoroughfares, and that several gendarmes who were at hand made no effort to protect them. An English midshipman, whose uniform was mistaken for that of the Salvation Army, was savagely attacked by several of the rioters; but he made such vigorous use of his fists that his cowardly assailants were glad to leave him in peace.

The statement that the Government of Berne has resolved not to permit the Salvation Army to enter the canton requires confirmation, and is in itself highly improbable.

The Geneva correspondent seems to be getting some of his facts from the Salvationists in Switzerland. The previous Berne report is contradicted.

The mob is not only attacking the Salvationists but other foreigners as well. It is hard not to cheer the "English midshipman"!

Tuesday, Feb 13, 1883

Summary of what has happens so far in Geneva, including part of an anti-Salvationist pamphlet:

The Salvation Army in Switzerland, Our Geneva Correspondent writes:- It may be doubted whether "General" Booth was well-advised in sending hither a detachment of his famous army, or that it will meet with the success that the supposed evangelical character of Geneva may have led him to anticipate. The Protestant Rome has become, in these days, more cosmopolitan than Swiss, more freethinking than orthodox; its inhabitants are especially proud of their enlightenment, and the few of them who believe they have any souls to be saved think they can do all that is necessary without the unasked help of an Irish gentleman and two English young ladies. The ways of the intrusive missionaries were, moreover, extraordinary, and to the average Geneva mind, nothing less than revolting. The expedition was commanded by a jeune fille, a young girl, who called herself la maréchale; she had under her orders two other young girls and two men (one of whom with two of the ladies has since gone to Neuchâtel), and she appeared on a platform and spoke in fluent French with all the self-possession and more than the eloquence of a veteran pastor of the National Church. The horror of this all may be imagined when it is remembered that at Geneva it is not to be considered comme il faut for a young girl to take the shortest walk unaccompanied by her bonne, to shake hands with a male cousin in the street, or to speak in society without being spoken to. I cannot put into words the verdict a Genevan Matron passes on young girls who travel about with men who are neither their fathers nor brothers, while the sight of a jeune fille in uniform distributing

pamphlets or canvassing for converts seems to her something more and worse than a gross violation of propriety. Nevertheless, the outburst of fanaticism which the advent of the Salvation Army in Geneva has called forth is a strange and almost inexplicable phenomenon. The force, as I have mentioned, consists only of a gentleman and two young ladies, yet had the two J.C.s, for whom an American once said Geneva was famous - Julius Caesar and John Calvin - appeared in the flesh on the Pont du Mont Blanc, the one calling his perished legions from the tomb, the other rebuking his degenerate successors for their heresies and backslidings, there could hardly have been greater hubbub and excitement. The Salvationists, with unwonted discretion, did not, as they are in the habit of doing in England, begin operations with grotesque processions and blatant music; they simply hired a building for their meetings and announced them by posters couched in their usual blood and thunder style. The attitude of the public was at first one of astonishment and amused curiosity. It seemed droll that anyone should want to convert Geneva. "Ils tomberont sous la ridicule" said people to each other. But, somehow or other, they were not killed by ridicule. Their meetings were well attended, everyone said that "Colonel" Clibborn spoke extremely well pour un Anglais; Miss Booth was declared to be a très belle fille; she charmed her auditors - especially those of the male sex - by the sweetness of her voice and the gracefulness of her gestures, and converts began to enlist under the Salvationist banner. Then opposition arose, the meetings were disturbed by brawlers, who sang ribald songs and drowned the voices of the speakers in yells and groans. The authorities refused to interfere - at any rate they did not interfere - and as a measure of self-protection, the Salvationists allowed to be present at their meetings only those who were furnished with tickets, which could be obtained at the headquarters in the Longemalle. This insured quiet inside, but it did not insure quiet outside. The building in which the Salvationists met was beset every night by bands of rioters who hustled, bespattered with mud and even stoned the audience as the latter went in and out. The head of the police department, as I have already informed you, flatly refused to protect them, on the grounds

that people who hold the doctrines they hold and use the language they use do not deserve protection. The mob, naturally encouraged by this declaration, renewed their attacks, and on Thursday last the strife culminated in an onslaught on the army's headquarters in the Longemalle and a general riot, which the police hardly so much as attempted to suppress. On the next day appeared the arrêté of the Council of State ordering the suspension of the meetings, and the meeting which it was intended to hold the same evening had to be abandoned. Gendarmes were stationed about the building to prevent the entrance of the Salvationists and the attacks of the rioters. The Salvationists appear to have few friends in the Press. Even such papers as the Journal de Genève and the Tribune, though they demand for them justice and fair play, disapprove their doctrines and denounce their practices, and tell them plainly that they cannot possibly make any permanent impression on the population of Geneva. The Genevois, organ of the local Government, the Bund, and some other papers are more actively and bitterly hostile, not hesitating even to resort to coarse vituperation and gross misrepresentation. Miss Booth is compared with Louise Michel; the Salvationists are declared to be more dangerous to society than the Anarchists; one day they are charged with obtaining recruits by bribery, another with making them pay for their conversion. The Genevois is 'informed' that since their arrival here the English leaders have extracted from their dupes 20,000 francs; the Bund of Berne stigmatizes them as Schwindelgesellschaft who it is the duty of the State to send out of their country, and upholds, of course, the action of the Council of State here in forbidding their meetings. To these, and some other misstatements and calumnies, Miss Booth has replied in a letter addressed to one of the local papers, and "Colonel" Clibborn, who is a gentleman belonging to a highly respectable family in the North of Ireland, assures me that they have neither solicited subscriptions nor offered to any convert whatever so much as a crust of bread. But the most damaging attack to which the Salvationists have yet been exposed is a brochure, by the Countess Agénor de Gasparin, of which she has been good enough to send me a copy, entitled "Armée - soi-disant - du Salut". As it was

written before the issue of the arrêté of the Council of State, it has necessarily no reference to that event. The first part of the pamphlet consists of a translation of "General" Booth's "Orders and Regulations for the Salvation Army," with an occasional biting comment, followed by a résumé, in which she impeaches the movement - its aims, methods, and proceedings - as hurtful to society and disgraceful to religion. Mr. Booth's system, she says, as developed in his orders and regulations, is a military system. "Liberty, will, thought, individuality are suppressed on all the line, and replaced by a single word - obedience. In the material world the system may have some advantages. In the spiritual world it is a crime against man, a sacrilege against God. Mr. Booth stops at nothing. Usurping the Divine name and the Divine authority, he appropriates at the same time the rights of God. All the texts which define the attributes of God and men's duty to Him Mr. Booth adopts and applies to the chief of the army. The army is the army of God. The commands of its chief are the commands of God. To join the army is to be converted to God. To serve the army is to serve God... Mr. Booth tells us that he has invented all this - subjection, military organization, Salvation Army. He has invented nothing. Military autocracy in things spiritual - with extension to things temporal - battalions, battles, conquests, all existed before he was born. They were called monastic spirit, monastic organization, monastic power, monastic invasions. There is even one who anticipated Mr. Booth in calling himself 'General' - the General of the Jesuits. ... Is Mr. Booth sincere? So was Loyola, and he created the Order of the Jesuits. Dominic was sincere, and he founded the Inquisition. ... If Jesus should descend to us, as all true Christians, humiliated by your acts, pray that He may, know you what He would do? He would break off your trumpets and crush your platforms, tear the epaulettes from the shoulders of your officers, bid your women return to their hearths, follow their domestic duties, cultivate humble virtues, fulfil their feminine mission. Your young girls! Do you believe that Jesus, tearing away their veil of modesty, would expose them on your mountebank's stages and let them make public speeches? Do you believe that He would send them in full uniform, braving a fire of

questionable gallantries, to sell your pamphlets in the streets of Paris, and make them beat tambourines in your bacchanalian processions? Jesus! Do not pronounce His name. Invoked in your theatres it is a profanation the more." I have quoted from this pamphlet at such length because I believe that so far as the Continent is concerned it will prove the deathblow of the Salvation Army. Not alone is the Countess de Gasparin a great authority in the religious world, but her French is so nervous and elegant, her reasoning so powerful, and her denunciation so scathing that what she writes everybody reads. Her edition was only published 24 hours since, and the edition is already exhausted. Its exposure of the hierarchical organization of the Salvation Army will repel the masses - whose passion is equality - as much as the charm of style will attract the cultivated. Infinitely more effective for its purpose than the decree of the Cantonal Government, the pamphlet may, perhaps, serve to teach that body and its supporters a lesson in tolerance, and convince them that, in the domain of opinion, the pen of the writer has superseded the authority of the State.

This seems to be a distinct change of view by the Genevan correspondent. Up to now, he has disapproved of the Genevan authorities, but has been neutral towards the Salvationists, even consulting them on points of fact. Yet here he seems to be approving of the opposition to the Salvation Army. He certainly thinks that it is better to be rude to the Salvationists in print, rather than throwing stones at them.

He uses several French terms, presumably to give the impression that these are the words of French-speaking Swiss.

jeune fille: young girl

la maréchale: marshal (female form)

comme il faut: the done thing

bonne: maid servant

"Ils tomberont sous la ridicule": They shall fall under ridicule.

pour un Anglais: for an Englishman

très belle fille: very beautiful lady

Schwindelgesellschaft (German): fraudulent enterprise

Armée - soi-disant - du Salut: so-called Salvation Army

arrêté: order

résumé: summary

Journal de Genève, Tribune, Genevois, Bund: Swiss newspapers

The "*Protestant Rome*" is Geneva, because John Calvin worked there.

Louise Michel, a French anarchist, was part of the 1871 French Commune.

One of Julius Caesar's campaigns took place in Switzerland.

The mention of the Jesuits and the Inquisition suggests that the writer of the pamphlet is anti-Catholic.

But there is a new incident. Enter our heroine, Maud Charlesworth!

The Salvation Army in Switzerland. Geneva, Feb 12: Miss Charlesworth, a young lady of 16, who has acted as Miss Booth's secretary, was yesterday expelled from the canton of Geneva, at six hours' notice; and today Miss Booth has shared the same fate. The grounds of Miss Charlesworth's expulsion, as stated in the decree of the Council of State, the original of which I have seen, are that she could not produce the written permission of her parents to reside in the canton, and had refused to undergo a police interrogation on Sunday morning. On Saturday, although her knowledge of French is very slight, she was examined three hours in camerâ; a Genevan gentleman, by whom she was accompanied, not being allowed to be present. She was invited to attend at the Hôtel de Ville a second time on Sunday; whereupon she said that if were all the same to the police she would rather present herself on Monday. At noon she received an order to leave the canton before 6, and left accordingly for Coppel.

The reason for Miss Booth's expulsion is that she could not, at a moment's notice, produce an account of a collection which was made two months ago at a meeting of the Salvation Army. There may be some show of reason for suppressing Salvationist meetings, but this war against women and children is unworthy even of the Radicalist Liberal Government of Geneva. So long as it is in power, foreigners living here have no rights whatever; and minors would do well to provide themselves with the properly-attested authorization

of their parents to reside in the canton, lest they, too, be summarily expelled.

This, published on the same day, swings the Geneva correspondent's support back to the Salvation Army.

Thursday, Feb 15, 1883

Reactions in Geneva to these expulsions.

The Salvation Army in Switzerland. Geneva, Feb 14: The expulsion of Miss Booth and Miss Charlesworth is naturally the almost exclusive topic of conversation here. Although the suppression of the Salvationist meetings was a measure far from unpopular and is approved by many people of position and culture, on the grounds that Geneva is sufficiently supplied with churches and sects already, the expulsions are approved only by the more fanatical supports of the Government. Mr. Auldjo, Her Majesty's Consul here, presented yesterday to the Council of State a protest, the text of which has been approved by the Minister at Berne; against the treatment of the two English ladies. The extraordinary conduct of the local authorities is in some measure explained by the fact that, four members of the Council being either ill or absent, M. Hérédier, head of the Department of Justice and Police had it all his own way. The Journal de Genève stigmatizes the whole proceedings of the police as nothing less than a veritable coup d'État. It says:-

"Every house where Salvationists are suspected of assembling, or in which any sort of religious meeting is supposed to be proceeding, is beset by detectives and gendarmes, who seek to obtain entrance, either by stratagem or force, failing which they peer through windows and peep through keyholes. They even watch houses in which operatic and other airs are being sung, in the belief apparently that they might be hymns of the Salvation Army. Genevan citizens ought to learn that they are no longer masters in their own homes, and that M. Hérédier's police, worthy emulators of the Second Empire, presume to prohibit religious exercises and prayers

in the sanctuary, heretofore reputed inviolable, of the domestic hearth. It is thus that fanatical politicians respect in our canton the constitutional guarantees of personal liberty, inviolability of domicile, and freedom of worship. Never before were strangers, young girls, almost children, treated as these English ladies have been treated; and the measure dealt out to them is one reserved for rogues, vagabonds and ladies of easy virtue."

This is all very good, and very true; yet though everybody professes to be very indignant, nobody seems disposed to make the least effort, either to resist the tyranny of the Council of State or to test the legality of their measures.

From Wikipedia: *"The Second French Empire was the Imperial Bonapartist regime of Napoleon III from 1852 to 1870... In order to counteract the opposition of individuals, a surveillance of suspects was instituted."*

Monday, Feb 19, 1883

Maud Charlesworth's own account of what happened, printed in the Times:

The Salvation Army at Geneva

A Lamb Among Wolves

Our Geneva Correspondent writes:-

"Miss Charlesworth, who is now at Coppet, has been good enough to give me the following account of her expulsion and events which preceded it. Her artless narrative is both interesting in itself and valuable for the vivid light which it throws on the ways of Geneva justice - to foreigners. According to the Journal de Genève, M. Heridier, Councillor of State charged with the Department of Justice and Police, was present at Miss Booth's and Miss Charlesworth's examinations, but behind a curtain, 'After the manner of all Grand Inquisitors.'

"'On Saturday afternoon,' says Miss Charlesworth (who, it may be mentioned, is just 16 years old) 'a man came to the house of M.

Lenoir, where we were staying, and said that Maud Charlesworth, aide-de-camp to Miss Booth, was to go at once and see the Chief of Police at the Hôtel de Ville. I went at once, taking M. Lenoir with me, as I did not like to go alone. When we arrived M. Lenoir sent in to ask the Chief of Police, M. Heridier, if he might be allowed to accompany me. We waited half an hour, and then the answer was that I must go alone. So there was nothing else for it, and I had to follow a savage-looking magistrate up stairs into a small and very hot office, where I was asked to sit down. I suppose that they thought that this exceedingly cross-looking officer was not enough to question me, for two others, with equally unsaved (sic) looking faces, came in to help him. I had been with Katie (Miss Booth) both the times when she had to appear before the police, so I was quite prepared for the sort of questions they were going to ask me. The last thing Katie said to me was, 'Do not sign anything,' and I answered that I would sooner let my right hand be cut off; and when I got into that little room I made up my mind that when they came to the end and asked me to sign I would refuse unless they would allow M. Lenoir to come up and read the paper through.

"Well, they began and asked me about the private meeting at which I had been present. They said it was a public meeting because three detectives had got in without being asked at the door for their cards of invitation. I denied the false statement, and made them write down my answer plainly. The point on which I laid the most stress was that we, the four Salvation officers, had been invited to a private meeting in a private house, to which others (strangers to us) had also been invited; that we spoke, prayed, and sang, as did others who did not belong to the Salvation Army, and that if people who were not invited made their way in it was not our fault; we were only guests. Then they asked how I dare wear my uniform at the meeting when I had been told of the law forbidding the wearing of a religious dress. Now, I know this law by heart. It says that no one is to wear a religious dress on the public highway. My answer was that I did not think the words 'public highway' could apply to the kitchen of a cottage in which a private meeting was held. I must tell you that my questioners, or rather persecutors (of whom most of the time there

were five) were very unsaved and all possessed very quick tempers. Their object was evidently to frighten me as to make me answer unwisely, and catch me in my speech. But they were disappointed, for they had never had to do with a Salvationist before, and could not make out why I was so calm and answered so clearly. They were also disappointed to find that I understood their language, and no matter how fast they read I was always ready with an answer. Every now and then one or another went into a passion. But worse was to come.

"Have you got a passport or "leave to stay" in Geneva?" asked one of therossest of the examiners (with whom I was now quite alone), and I could see by his manner that he thought I had not got my papers. I answered that I had my leave to stay; and that my passport was in the hands of the police. You should have seen the rage he got into. He rose, threw down his chair, stamped out of the room, shouted for some under officer, and asked the man what he meant by saying I was not provided with a passport. This man also lost his temper, went off to look for the passport, and in a few minutes returned and saw I was quite right, that they had my passport and my "leave to stay". The inspector then flew into a greater rage than before, and scolded the man who had misled him. When he was more composed he continued. But now he came to personal questions, which I told him he had no right to ask, and I inquired what law authorized him to ask them. He said that was not his affair; he had been told to ask these questions, and I must answer. He asked me if I had my father's leave to remain in Geneva, and when I said "Yes" he wanted letters to prove it. I asked him how he dared to doubt my word, and told him to write down that Miss Booth had letters from my father authorizing me to stay. A little later he said that I had prayed in a private meeting according to the form of the Salvation Army. I insisted that the Salvation Army had no form of prayer, and asked him in what way their prayers differed from other prayers. He said they differed very much, but he could not tell me how; he repeated that we had a form of prayer, and began to storm and rave so loudly that an inspector ran in from the next room, saying "Gently, gently, there is somebody outside." ... At last,

after a great deal more questioning my paper was finished. I knew all my answers were true, and that there was little harm in putting my name to it; but then I remembered my promise to Katie, so I refused, unless I might go down and fetch M. Lenoir, and I said that I would not sign the paper until he had read it. Of course, they raved at me, but it had no effect; so they went off for M. Lenoir; but unfortunately he had gone away, as they came back in triumph to tell me. I still refused to sign, and said that I would not sign until "Captain" Bouillat (a member of the Salvation Army) had read it through. They were angry, and tried to frighten me, all talking as fast as they could at the same time. Then they said they would read the paper all through again, which they did three times; but nothing could move me. I said that I would go with Zitza and fetch Bouillat. They answered that I might go, but not with Zitza (a Salvationist, who was waiting to be examined), but I said that I could not think of such a thing - that it would be very improper for a young lady to walk through the streets after dark, especially as I knew there was a plot on foot to do us harm.'

"In the end two gendarmes were sent for Bouillat, Miss Charlesworth and Zitza waiting meanwhile in the hot little office.

"All at once it struck me,' she continues,' that we would have a prayer meeting. "Zitza," I said, "we will pray. Let us go down on our knees and pray for these people, for if ever we wanted the Lord with us it is now." So down we went, and prayed out loud for about ten minutes, and it did us good. The inspector was much surprised; he cleared his throat, grunted, and finally got up and went to the door of the outer office. I said to Zitza that we would tell the Correspondent of The Times, and I wondered what the English would think of the way in which their country-women were treated. This was overheard, and seemed to make an impression, for two men came and said I was quite free to go if I liked, or if they could fetch me anything they would do so. I wanted to fetch Bouillat, but when I found that I should either have to go alone or walk between two policemen I preferred to wait.

"At length Bouillat came, and on his recommendation she signed her deposition.

"The great fun was,' she goes on, that all these cross magistrates and inspectors were kept from their dinners. So were we; but as I told them, that was a very secondary consideration to us. We left that office and half past 7 singing "Glory to His Name." I had been there four hours. The whole town knew it. A lawyer at once took all that had passed down in French, because he was so indignant.

"On Sunday I received a paper which told me that before 6 o'clock I was to be out of the Canton, because, first I had broken the law by speaking in a public meeting (lie No. 1); secondly, because I had nothing to show that my parents had consented to my being with Miss Booth (lie No. 2); thirdly, because that morning I had not appeared when sent for by the police. (We sent a letter to say we could not go on a Sunday.)

"Before the man who brought the letter went away I made him tell me who else was expelled, and I found that Bouillat, Zitzu, and Emile (all foreigners) had shared that same fate. We sent for them to come up that we might arrange where to go, but they did not come, and we found that they had been fetched out of their room, put into a cab with a policeman, and driven away without a moment's notice. So these three are gone, I know not whither, and Miss Booth sent a Swiss lass with me, as, of course, I could not go alone."

There is a story behind this report. Maud Charlesworth was expelled from Switzerland before the other Salvationists. She explained: *"During my two days of lonely exile [after having been expelled, and before the others turned up], I wrote an account, including a rather intimately funny description of the police examination, to General William Booth in London. It was meant just as a personal letter. As it had not been mailed, la Marechale [Catherine Booth] told our friend of the Times to look it through and then to mail it for us."* She added *"I was overwhelmed when I read the papers and found myself public property. ... I wept with shame over "Lamb among the Wolves" though the newspaper comments were friendly, even almost fatherly."*

I am not sure whether Catherine Booth intended the Times to publish it or not. Its propaganda value for the Salvation Army was obvious. However

"our friend of the Times" obviously would not be able to resist publication once he got his hands on it!

Tuesday, Feb 20, 1883

The Times editorial about Maud's expulsion:

Englishmen cannot help watching with some curiosity the fortunes of the Salvation Army in Switzerland and other foreign countries which, to keep up their own metaphor, they have invaded. Such an invasion in itself is somewhat of a phenomenon. It is not much more than a year ago that the doings of the Salvation Army were hardly thought worthy of serious public comment. Yet Mr. Booth and his colleagues in command have already sent out flying columns into distant regions, as if this country were at their feet and they needed fresh worlds to conquer. This rapid development need not be construed as an omen of endurance and long life. On the contrary, one might take it as an additional ground for believing that the existence of the "Army" will not be much less ephemeral than that of similar movements. In the case of a commercial enterprise, to extend the sphere of an operation abroad before consolidating the home business is regarded as a symptom of unhealthy inflation. Mr. Booth can hardly claim to have converted an appreciable proportion of his countrymen to his peculiar modes of worship. Yet he fits out expeditions to countries where, comparatively speaking, he has not the slightest chance of achieving any permanent success. It is not, however, with the prospects of the "Army" in foreign countries with which we are now concerned, but with the treatment which it is now experiencing in those countries. The animosity which M. Daudet has given such striking expression in his latest fiction, "L'Évangéliste," is a sentiment entertained by Frenchmen merely in private. In Switzerland, and particularly in Geneva, the Salvation Army has met with persecution more real than that which consists in invective. Not only have the usual crowds of rioters attacked the processions, and attacked them with impunity, but the Genevan authorities have interdicted the Salvationist meetings, and to crown all, suddenly

expelled from the canton Miss Booth and another young lady, who acted as Miss Booth's secretary. The reasons assigned for this summary proceedings were flimsy to a degree.

The whole story was narrated in a letter which we printed yesterday from our Geneva Correspondent. Miss Charlesworth, who is the heroine and narrator, is only sixteen years of age, but it will be seen that she displays the self-possession of a veteran in the trying cross-examination to which she was subjected by the police authorities. There is, indeed, a quaintness almost Puritanic when she dwells upon the "cross and unsaved" faces of her examiners, and on the way they lose their temper while she remains imperturbable. The Salvationist "General", as we all know, has a keen sense of humour, and it would seem that he possesses the art of passing it to his lady disciples. The upshot of the examination appeared on the Sunday following, when Miss Charlesworth, together with other Salvationists, received warning to quit the canton before 6 o'clock, on the alleged grounds that she had contravened a recent order by speaking at a public meeting, that she could not show any authorization from her parents allowing her to stay in Geneva, and that she disobeyed the summons of the authorities to attend at the police bureau upon that same Sunday morning. Of these grounds, the first two, it appears, were unfounded - Miss Charlesworth stigmatizes them by an un-Salvationist name - and the last is explained by the scruples entertained by the young lady against the violation of the Sabbath. It is evident that the expulsions of the Salvationists from Geneva was not due to any infringement of the law, but to some rooted dislike on the part of the authorities. One M. Hérédier, the head of the Department of Justice and Police appears to lead a powerful section in the Genevese Council of State, which cherishes a deadly hostility towards religion and religious propagandism. This gentleman is represented by our Geneva Correspondent as having been present at the examination of Miss Charlesworth, but concealed behind a curtain. He and his party have been successful for the present in winning a glorious victory over child opponents, but it is possible that even now the diplomatic pressure which is being applied by the representatives of those

Governments whose subjects have thus been summarily expelled may induce the cantonal authorities to rescind their ill-advised order.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Salvationists have earned a great deal of unpopularity in Geneva and the other places in Switzerland where they have established themselves, and that the Swiss authorities, so long as they merely confine themselves to refusing to give special protection to the members of the "Army" against mob violence, will be supported to a considerable extent by the less educated portion of the Swiss population. We are not disposed to deny that there is a certain amount of aggressiveness in the proceedings of the "Army", irritating to both those whose religion is of a different complexion and, still more, to the wholly irreligious. In India, this aggressiveness became a positive element of public danger, because of the religious fanaticism of the native population was uncontrollable. The interdiction of the Salvationist demonstrations there was a necessity. But a little more intelligence and moderation may surely be expected from an enlightened population than from Hindoos and Mahomedans. The treatment of the Salvationists in Geneva, however, seems to proceed rather from irreligious tendencies than from any tenderness for the susceptibilities of the Genevese mob. It is, in fact, something approaching real persecution; and for this very reason, it is exactly what the Salvationists court with ardour. They are, doubtless, only too glad to light upon substantial persecutors in this age of stubborn toleration. They would like nothing better than a revival of the age of martyrdom, in which they might be proscribed of the whole world. We English cannot entirely plume ourselves upon the mode in which we treated Mr. Booth and his followers when they first came into prominence. But experience has taught us that the function of the authorities is to preserve the peace, and insure that the "Army" shall not be the butt of lawless violence - and, that insured, to leave the movement to run its course. This policy will, it may be hoped, ultimately adopted by the Genevese. To treat the movement seriously, as a sort of State conspiracy, is only to endure it with vitality; but left to itself, the Salvation Army is probably destined to

grow and die as so many religious movements have grown and died before.

The Times' distaste of the Salvation Army with its "peculiar modes of worship" is evident. However, if British members of the Salvation Army are mistreated abroad, then the Times will naturally spring to their defence. The editor is certainly charmed by Miss Charlesworth!

The comments about the other religions in India are appalling. They are also contradicted (later) by General Booth, who points out that the Indians find singing and music a natural form of religious worship.

We have already covered "L'Évangéliste", a written protest against the Salvation Army (if it was against the Salvation Army!) The Times makes the point that it is unwise to use violence against the Salvation Army, as they prefer persecution to "stubborn toleration". Attacks should be restricted to writing.

William Booth, the head of the Salvation Army talks to Lord Granville (the foreign secretary) about the affair.

The Salvation Army in Geneva - "General" Booth had an interview with Lord Granville yesterday afternoon with reference to the expulsion of Miss Catherine Booth and Miss Maud Charlesworth from the Canton of Geneva. The "General" desires (1) permission for his officers to live in the Republic until they have been convicted of some offence against the laws of the country; (2) liberty for his representatives to hold meetings, and for any one to attend; (3) permission to use the building hired in Geneva as a bookshop; (4) liberty to sell publications in any other part of the Republic; (5) that a declaration be made by the Government to convince authorities abroad that the Salvation Army is "a movement which ought to command the respect and sympathy of every reasonable man."

A complaint seems reasonable, but Booth seems to be using the expulsion in order to make strong demands of his own.

India was mentioned in the editorial. This describes what is going on:

We have received the following telegrams through Reuter's Agency:- India. Bombay, Feb 19. Major Tucker and 18 other members of the Salvation Army have been arrested for persisting in marching in procession with bands of music and banners through the streets of Bombay.

Wednesday, Feb 21, 1883

Maud Charlesworth is now at the centre of an international incident.

The Salvationists in Switzerland - Geneva, Feb 20: The council of State to-day replied to the protest made by Mr. Auldjo, the British Consul, on the 12th inst., against the expulsion of Miss Charlesworth, to the effect that complaints of this nature should pass through the diplomatic channel of the British Legation at Berne, which would communicate with the Federal Council on the subject. A similar reply has been given to the representations of "Colonel" Clibborn and Mr. Richard Greville, which had reached the Council of State direct through Mr. Auldjo's intermediary.

Now Maud's father, the Rev. Samuel Charlesworth, joins the story officially. He writes a letter to the Times. This gives the history of Maud's relationships with the Salvation Army.

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir, - I have been greatly distressed this morning on reading in The Times an account purporting to have been given by my daughter, Maud Charlesworth, to your Geneva Correspondent respecting the part which she has been so unwisely allowed to take in the proceedings of the Salvation Army in Geneva.

I feel it due myself as a clergyman and to my family to ask permission to state briefly the circumstances under which my youngest daughter had been so unfortunately mixed up with these

proceedings of the Army. I ask this favour of you, because her name has appeared so prominently in The Times in the intelligence items from Switzerland.

Twelve years since the Rev. William Booth was carrying on a most useful, successful work in the East of London by means of an organization called the Christian Mission, originated and supported by him. One of the principal stations being in my then parish, the work drew forth the interest and sympathy of myself and my family. A few years later Mr. Booth adopted a different organization and plan of operations in carrying on his work, an alteration in which I could not accord when it assumed its present form of the Salvation Army. About two years since, my daughter, then in her 16th year, was taken to some of the London meetings of the Salvation Army, and there introduced to members of Mr. Booth's family. Being of a very impressible and somewhat excitable nature, deeply imbued with strong religious convictions and feelings, the Salvation Army took a strong hold upon her imagination, and she became fascinated with its meetings and work. Eventually she was so absorbed in the movement that all other interests seemed entirely to merge with her conception of the importance of the Christian work carried on by the Army. When I first became aware of the intense absorption and enthusiastic feeling to which she had yielded I was alarmed for the consequence, both as to health of body and mind. I saw it was needful that I should act most cautiously with her, and I accompanied her to two or three of the Army holiness meetings, that I might judge for myself of their effect upon her.

I shrank with trembling from the responsibility of allowing a child of so sensitive a nature and impulsive disposition to be subject to the intense excitement called forth in those meetings, the whole work being so essentially based and carried on by exciting appeals to the feelings. But I found with sorrow that my daughter had been already so wrought upon by the system that no other form of worship satisfied her spiritual cravings.

Mr. Booth's family were entirely unknown to me. I wrote to two of them with whom my daughter seemed most associated with very earnestly appealing to them not for the present, while she was so

young and a school-girl, to do anything which would tend to encourage the excitement or the all-engrossing influence of the Army meetings and work. I regret to say that my appeal met with no responsive sympathy - indeed, I must add that, both with respect to my child and to other young persons of whom I have heard, I fear the Army influence has a direct tendency to wean converts from home associates and interests, under the idea that its work is paramount in importance to all other pursuits and obligations, and even to the known wishes of parents. At all events, I then discovered, to my deep sorrow, that one of the most loving and devoted children had found stronger interests and more absorbing pursuits in the arena of the Army than in her own home.

In the very painful dilemma in which I was placed with a motherless daughter to watch over, feeling that my child's happiness, and health of body and mind, probably depended on her continuance in the Army work, and yet dreading the excitement of the work as carried on in London, I took her to Paris, having the impression that the work among the Parisian poor was of a less exciting nature. I attended several meetings, and was greatly pleased by the earnestness of all the workers, and the moderation and propriety which pervaded all the proceedings under the superintendence of Miss Booth.

By my daughter's desire I arranged with Miss Booth to leave her for a time in Paris, that she might assist Miss Booth in her arduous work among the poor; but expressly stipulating that she was only to be regarded as a young friend and visitor, and that she should not become an officer of the Army or wear their uniform.

*Shortly afterwards Miss Booth went to Geneva to open a station there, and took my daughter with her. Thus she has so injudiciously and to me most lamentably placed in the very forefront of an aggressive movement in a foreign land; not only in direct contravention to both the spirit and letter of my express stipulations, but also opposed to the course which ought to have been taken even if unexpressed, with reference to one of such a tender age and so inexperienced. Any judicious parent reading the statements contained in *The Times* on the Geneva proceedings must have felt*

what a sorrowful and unwise position that young Christian girl had been drawn into.

With regard to the Salvation Army itself, which is the real and principal question of public importance, and of interest to your readers, I wish I could be silent. So long as I could do conscientiously I heartedly desired to note only the good it effects, and be silent, on what might appear to me, its defects or mistakes. It has undoubtedly been accomplishing a great work in the conversion of thousands of the most ignorant and depraved. But, in common with many of my clerical brethren and Christian friends, I now tremble for its future, because there seems to be creeping into it so much of the material and worldly element, as though in its great success and widespread influence the self-sacrificing and self-ignoring spirit were giving place to autocratic rule and exacting obedience - even the spirit of Rome and of the Jesuit rule, in a modified form, superseding the spirit of love and humility. I have come so reluctantly to this conclusion, the result in part of observing closely its present mode of operation, but more especially from learning of the avowed doctrines and principles upon which its government and mode of procedure are based, as distinctly set forth in the printed code of orders and regulations drawn up for the guidance of the officers of the Army.

I am most deeply pained and grieved to write this letter, but the publicity given to my young daughter's position and proceedings in the Army operations at Geneva, seems to me to demand such an explanation, if only as a caution to other parents.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant, Samuel Charlesworth

Clapham Common Feb 19.

Whew! Rev. Samuel Charlesworth makes the accusation that the Salvation Army is deliberately weaning "converts from home associates". He mentions "young persons of whom I have heard" - this may be a reference to "L'Évangéliste". When Booth replied to accusations arising from that book, he pointed out that the alleged deprived mother had not complained. This may have led Samuel Charlesworth to write this letter.

Maud is described as a "motherless daughter". She had lost her mother (and Samuel his beloved wife) late 1881, and this may have led to her passionate interest in the Salvation Army.

Samuel Charlesworth's letter has led to a change of attitude in today's editorial.

A story is told of Archbishop Manners Sutton which illustrates with some vividness the mode in which the rational men of two generations ago regarded religion. He had just consecrated the new Bishop of Calcutta, and at the luncheon at Lambeth which followed the ceremony he proposed, as was fitting, the health of the new missionary Prelate. Ending his speech with a few words of paternal counsel, "Remember," he said, "remember, my Lord Bishop, that your Primate on the day of your consecration defined your duty for you. That duty is - to put down enthusiasm, and to preach the Gospel." It is to be feared that the opinion of the Archbishop as to the duty of religious men will hardly command the assent of General Booth and his Salvationists, who would be slow to make that trenchant opposition between the Gospel and enthusiasm. Enthusiasm, indeed, is the material with which they work; and when they find it they have very little scruple in making use of it, whatever may be said by those who might claim, in each individual case, to be consulted. A better example of this has seldom been given than in the letter in which the Rev. Samuel Charlesworth this morning completes the curious story of his young daughter's proceedings, which have been attracting so much attention during the past fortnight. We yesterday commented upon the conduct of the Geneva authorities in rudely expelling this lass of seventeen from the town where Calvin dwelt and from the Canton which harboured Voltaire; but her father's letter suggests other considerations, quite independent of the political aspect of the matter. It may be remarked, in passing, that the Swiss officials seem accidentally to have stumbled upon the truth in their search for a technical justification for Miss Charlesworth's expulsion. She was in Geneva

without her father's permission, and, in fact, against his will, as his letter this morning explains. The history of the case is very simple. Mr. Charlesworth is a clergyman who was lately incumbent of a parish in the East of London, in which was situated one of the stations of "the Christian Mission," carried on, in a useful and unpretending way, by a Nonconformist preacher who called himself the Rev. William Booth. After a while, as everyone remembers, the idea entered Mr. Booth's mind that he would adopt for his fight against evil the language and trappings of military life, and the Salvation Army sprang into life. Miss Charlesworth, an excitable and religious-minded girl of fifteen, was taken to some of the meetings, fell in with Mr. Booth's family, and was fascinated by the novelty and the charm of the meetings and the work. Her father saw the danger and protested; but it was too late, and his remonstrances with Mr. Booth's family met with no response. He felt himself, as he said, in a painful dilemma. To remove his child from the work of the Army might injure, he thought, both her happiness and her health; to let her continue would not only alienate her from her home, but would probably over-excite her brain, and end disastrously. In his difficulty he adopted what he thought was a middle course of taking her to Paris, to help Miss Booth in her work among the poor, "expressly stipulating that she was to be regarded as a young friend and a visitor, and that she should not become an officer of the Army or their uniform." But just as his former wishes had been disregarded, so this stipulation was held of no account. Miss Booth found her young, eager recruit too valuable for the position of a mere camp-follower; and accordingly, when the "invasion" of Geneva was determined on, Miss Charlesworth was taken to that city and invested with all the prominence of which we have lately heard too much.

"I fear," says Mr. Charlesworth, "that the Army influence has a direct tendency to wean the converts from home associations and interests, under the idea that its work is paramount in importance to all other pursuits and obligations, and even to the known wishes of parents." That this danger is not imaginary will be evident to any who reflect on the essential sameness of all religious movements,

Christian or non-Christian, Catholic or Protestant. The claim of religion over the individual is always, in its essence, the same. It asks for the surrender of the whole man. In all ordinary cases this claim is more or less logically harmonized with the claims of the present; otherwise, as Chaucer's monk puts it, "How shall the world be served?" But in the case of the enthusiasts, of those who are subject to one dominant impulse, everything has to yield to the religious passion. That passion which is stronger than all others - stronger than love, or ambition, or avarice - must find its satisfaction, at whatever cost of personal discomfort, or the feelings of others, or of the the claims of so-called minor duties. In Catholic countries the root of all dissension, and the primary ground of the popular dislike to the Church, lies in the claim of the Church to interfere with family order, to forbid mixed marriages or control the children of them, and to "direct" devout wives. In the semi-Catholic system which has lately spread over so large a portion of English life, the difficulty is the same; and many parent has been shocked at hearing of the attempts of an over-zealous schoolmaster to make his boy "confess", whether such a thing was approved at home, or not. The Salvation Army has done little else than re-assert the claims and copy the methods of older religious bodies. All alike aim at the complete direction of the converts by the Church - that is to say, by the officials of the Church, whether ordained priests or self-constituted "captains". Miss Charlesworth, who appears to be the living counterpart of poor Eline Ebsen in M. Daudet's last novel, is but the Protestant reflection of many a Catholic maiden who has taken to the cloister as the place where she can best satisfy her religious fervour; and if the Protestant votary prefers a religious career that is more exciting and more in contact with mankind than that of her Catholic sister, the two are alike in their remoteness from the life of the family. Whatever may be said in their praise, to neither can the poet's words be applied, that she is "true to the kindred points of Heaven and home."

The religious passion is so strong and so incalculable that it is always rash to prophesy a speedy end to any "movement," however extravagant. Mr. Booth's army, however, is a phenomenon in which

there is so very little essential novelty that its horoscope may be drawn with tolerable certainty. In so far as it is called an Army, and has grades, titles, and regulations, it is new; but in so far as its object is "conversion," it does not differ from the thousand revivalist schemes that have been started in England and America from the days of Whitefield downwards. It may safely be said that a short time will suffice to wear out the fantastical externals of the scheme, and that what is vital in it will remain. As far as concerns the outward organisation, indeed, there is much to be urged in dispraise of its latest manifestations. Of the processions and the hostile feelings which they arose enough have been said already; but for the rest, its success has been too sudden and personal to last. A City missionary, who had a dozen years carried on services in the East End with mediocre success, all at once dubs his congregation an Army, and works the metaphor into elaborate detail. In a short time he has shops in prominent thoroughfares for the sale of his newspaper and his uniforms, his own bust, a score of times repeated, occupying a prominent place in the window, Simultaneously the financial side of the organization assumes great proportions, and large purchases of premises are made in great thoroughfares. How long will all this last? That religious and exquisite writer, Madame de Gasparin, believes that it cannot last long. Her pamphlet, from which our Geneva Correspondent lately sent us some striking extracts, and which he describes as, "as far as the Continent is concerned, likely to prove the death blow of the Salvation Army," is not, indeed, very likely to touch General Booth and his followers, but it will have great influence outside. The chief criticism that might be passed upon it is that it perhaps takes the movement too seriously. It assumes that the idea of an Army, with flags, trumpets, and processions at work in the cause of religion, can touch any but the very young and ignorant. It makes too much of the comparison, at which students of history smile, between Mr. Booth and Loyola - between the General of the Salvationists and the General of the Jesuits. Loyola succeeded because what he had formed was an army within an already existing army, a band of praetorians within a highly organized church. Mr Booth's fantastic parody, which could

not have succeeded for a moment among any people except the English, will have its day, like other extravagances, and all that will survive of it will be the genuine devotion to the good of others which in many of the performers unquestionably underlies the disguise in which they choose to masquerade.

The fear that the Salvation Army sets children against their parents dates back at least to the speech of the Bishop of Durham. L'Évangéliste is mentioned. Even the leaflet of the Countess Agénor de Gasparin is quoted.

General Booth replies to the previous news story about the Salvation Army in India.

The Salvation Army.- Mr. William Booth writes:- "We neither had, nor proposed to have, any open air meetings or procession in Geneva. In India we have been allowed to procession with singing and music (as natives of all religions are) in Calcutta, Delhi, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares, and a number of other cities. In Bombay alone have authorities refused us permission to do that which is permitted to natives of all religions in that city, and which we are legally advised the police have no power to interdict, except temporarily and under circumstances which it is notorious do not exist. The native population there and everywhere have shown themselves most undeniably friendly to the new missionaries who have stooped to wear their dress and court their favour."

General Booth has not, of course, yet read Rev. Samuel Charlesworth's letter.

Thursday, Feb 22, 1883

The Geneva correspondent continues to give the Salvation Army point of view.

The Salvation Army in Switzerland. Geneva, Feb 20: A meeting of the Salvation Army convened by "Colonel" Clibborn, was held on

Sunday evening, near Ferney, and close to the Swiss frontier. Most of the Genevan Salvationists were present, and although the population of the neighbourhood is almost exclusively Catholic, the assembly was not interfered with, either by the people or by the authorities. It is intended to hold a series of similar meetings just outside the frontier, on both sides of the lake.

Mr. Clibborn has had meetings with the British Minister at Berne and the President of the Confederation, touching the expulsion of Miss Booth and Miss Charlesworth from the canton of Geneva. There can be little doubt that the expulsion of these ladies was a violation of international law and of the treaty rights of British subjects residing in this country. There has long existed a convention between England and Switzerland whereby the natives of each State in the territory of the other are placed by that other on the footing of citizens - that is to say, an Englishman domiciled or merely travelling in Switzerland enjoys precisely the same rights as a Swiss and vice versa.

That the reasons alleged for the expulsion of Miss Charlesworth were the merest pretexts is proved by the fact that she was in possession of a regular permis de séjour, and that when it was granted to her on the exhibition of Foreign Office passport, nothing was said to her about her being under age or concerning the supposed necessity for parental permission to travel - a requirement in the case of minors provided with passports or accompanied by friends absolutely unheard of. In refusing to go to the Hôtel de Ville on Sunday or any other day in response to a mere request of the police, Miss Charlesworth, not being charged with any offence known to the law, was quite within her rights. The demand for particulars of a certain collection, for the non-production of which Miss Booth was sent away, was made under an obsolete law. Collections are taken all the year round in every church in Geneva without let or hindrance. Nevertheless, she offered, if a little time were given her, to produce the desired information; but she was expelled the same afternoon. It is of great importance to British subjects living in this country that their position in relation to the police should be exactly defined, for if the expulsions of Miss Booth

and Miss Charlesworth can be justified, nobody is safe from one day to another.

This report was filed the day before Rev. Charlesworth's letter, and the Times editorial on it, were published.

The official complaint against the expulsion:

The Salvation Army in Switzerland. Geneva, Feb 21: The Geneva Government is bound by Cantonal laws to allow an appeal on the part of Misses Charlesworth and Booth. The Government will appoint a commissary to hear the appeal and report upon it.

Rev. Samuel Charlesworth's attack is serious. General Booth replies to it.

The Salvation Army in Geneva.

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir, - I cannot congratulate those who have chosen the moment when my daughter is exiled and silenced to heap reproaches upon her. I ask, at least, to be allowed a word on her behalf pending completer replies, which will doubtless be forthcoming, if necessary. As the impression produced by Mr. Charlesworth's letter that his daughter was in Geneva contrary to his will, I content myself with the following quotation from a letter addressed by him to Miss Booth on the 31st January, in reply to one in which she consulted him as to his daughter remaining in Switzerland during her own visit to England next month:-

Dear Miss Booth, - I will leave entirely to your own judgement and the convenience of your arrangements whether my child remains at Geneva or at Paris during your absence in England. Let her be where she will be most helpful to you and most useful in the Lord's service. If you intend to return to Geneva, her remaining there will save both the fatigue and expense of a long double journey. I can quite trust to your arrangements for my child. I know that you will counsel her and enforce rules for her guidance in your absence."

I have only to call attention to the fact that this letter was written after Miss Charlesworth was in Switzerland, and after repeated reports had shown clearly what her position in the army was. Indeed, so great is the contrast between this letter of the 31st of January and the one now appearing in your columns that I can only attribute it to some unfriendly influence behind the scenes.

I am placed in an extremely delicate position when a father, in order to condemn the Salvation Army, represents his daughter to the world as undutiful and untruthful. But having failed to obtain any redress from Mr. Charlesworth himself, I am bound to protect the army against such an attack, especially as my daughter has been so heartily and devotedly assisted by a number of young ladies in both France and Switzerland.

I perfectly sympathize with Mr. Charlesworth in the regret that his daughter should have been placed in so public a position; but it is to the Genevan Government that complaints on this score should be addressed. One might expect sympathy, instead of reproaches, from all fathers under such circumstances. But perhaps the scandalous statements recently made under respectable auspices as to our system of government have removed us in the opinion of some people from the range of human feelings and sympathy.

Be that as it may, my daughter will certainly remain at her post in the "very forefront of an aggressive movement in a foreign land" no matter to what outrages and misrepresentations she may be subjected.

*I am, Sir, yours faithfully, William Booth
101 Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.*

Battle is joined! General Booth shows that Rev. Charlesworth's accusations are damaging and must be robustly answered.

General Booth fixes on one point, that Rev. Charlesworth had discussed his daughter staying in Geneva, so he knew perfectly well she was there. In fact, Rev. Charlesworth's letter had said something different. He objected to her being "placed in the very forefront of an aggressive movement in a foreign land".

Saturday, Feb 24, 1883

Rev. Samuel Charlesworth replies to General Booth.

The Salvation Army in Geneva.

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir, - I regret that the letter of the Rev. William Booth, which I have just read in The Times of today, necessitates a reply from me; but I ask the indulgence of being allowed a further space in your column, with less reluctance because I feel that your just and very discriminating comments on my former letter have removed the subject out of the limited range of my own personal trial to the wider sphere of a question of national importance.

My former letter was, I hope, moderate in tone and free from any personal invective; yet Mt. Booth's reply is so destitute of Christian candour and courtesy that I must no longer use reticence or mild terms, but fully unmask the dangerous principles and practice of a sect which, in endeavouring to obtain a world-wide influence is subverting much that we hold dear in our Christian faith and home life.

Mr. Booth, in his letter, when most ungenerously asserting that I was representing my daughter to the world as undutiful and untruthful, a statement for which my letter yields no shadow of a foundation, for a more truthful, loving, and devoted child no father could have, goes on to say, - "Having failed to obtain any redress from Mr. Charlesworth himself, I am bound to protect the army against such an attack."

It will hardly be credited that when he wrote those words, he had lying before him a courteous letter of explanation, written to him in reply to the first and only letter I have received from him, sent yesterday to my residence by a special messenger who waited for my answer.

Mr. Booth quotes from a letter written by me on the 31st of January last to his daughter, to prove that I was willing my daughter should remain in Switzerland; but he conceals the all important fact that I

had expressed a desire that she should be placed under the care of a dear and valued friend of mine in Switzerland, in whom I had perfect confidence. Also he passes over the fact that I knew nothing of the troubles existing at Geneva, but thought that my daughter was working quietly with Miss Booth in a most successful and unimpeded manner. I give a verbatim quotation from Miss Booth's letter, to which mine must have been a reply.

Dear Mr. Charlesworth, - permit me to say, in the interests of your precious child, that I do not think you know of the great nervous strain the question of working in the Army has been to Maud. She is not strong; her heart is given to this work; and I have grave reason to fear that if she be taken away the inward suffering, which we know is worse than any other kind, will undermine her health for the future. If Maud stays with me, she shall not leave my side under any consideration. I think you can trust me to care for her in all those many particulars, as a mother would. She is a dear sister to me. I love her too well not to check her when I see it needful. Yet I fear the Lord himself has called her, and marked her, and will use her in a wonderful way, for his Glory. I watch over her for Him and her sainted mother. The meetings here are very much blessed. Such a wonderful work has broken out, and souls all round are seeking pardon. Your child's simple words are mighty through the Spirit to the breaking of hard hearts. Last evening a meeting for women, of over 2000 present. Maud prayed."

Not a word in this letter about any difficulties or disturbances. In leaving my daughter in Paris, I had stipulated that she should not be under any circumstances separated from Miss Booth. Yet her father dares to give that quotation from my letter in reply to justify my child having been set in the very forefront of all those unwise collisions with the municipal authorities in Geneva and being thrown into the midst of the conflict. I was not first consulted whether she should go, but actually being there, I thought it better she should remain, if placed under the care of my friend or left with Miss Booth; and at Miss Booth's request, I wrote to Mr. Adams the British Ambassador at Berne, saying that I fully concurred in my daughter being at Geneva with her, but adding, "only as a young

friend and visitor, not to be officially connected with the army or to wear the uniform." And yet she is set in battle array with the Government of the Canton; and one of the charges against her, for which she was banished from Geneva under the risk of imprisonment, is that, contrary to the laws, she wore the uniform of the army.

After this explanation, may I not say that my confidence was abused, and that when Mr. Booth makes suppressio veri his chief weapon, he is an unworthy antagonist for a wronged parent to enter the lists within newspaper controversy.

When I left my daughter in Paris, I did so under the most strict injunctions that she was not to be in any way used or exposed as an officer of the army. I even stipulated that she should, at my cost, always ride home with Miss Booth in a private conveyance from the evening meetings. Yet to my dismay I learned accidentally that she had been sent out into the streets in front of the Bourse, the Opera House, and the Madeleine to sell the Paris War Cry, En Avant.

Imagine a delicate young English girl of a very pleasing exterior, in her 18th year, with a bundle of papers, running after and soliciting the roués of that gay city to buy a paper, and then read Miss Booth's promise to me, as repeated in her before-quoted letter. But I will quote Mr. Booth's own description of what my dear child was exposed to, as found in his book, "The Salvation War," page 104:-

"Three o'clock in the afternoon, outside the Bourse, three English girls, in full Salvation uniform, each wearing a large satchel strung across the shoulder well packed with French War Cries. Holding two open, they begin at once to work by saying in a loud, clear voice, 'En Avant, un sou'. Their bright uniform and strange appearance attract attention. One man hurries towards them, calling out to his companions, 'Why, what's this? What pretty little paper sellers. Let's see what they've got.' The wide flight of steps and pavement in front of the building are covered like an arena; but, instead of looking towards the building or entering in, they have all their eye-glasses up, gazing at something. What? Three little English girls selling, or rather trying to sell, En Avant. At last one comes forward and buys, then another, who says 'Do you think I want this

journal? No, it is only to please you that I buy it: your uniform amuses me, it is so charming, so attractive."

No less than three pages are devoted to this jocose description of what three young English ladies of refinement and modesty were thus subjected to. Oh! shame upon any father who could thus expose three young girls of tender age to temptations and insult.

Directly I heard of it I wrote to my dear child, saying that I must come and fetch her home at once. Clerical engagements kept me in England for two days, and before I could start I received a most heartrending letter from my daughter, entreating that I would allow her to continue. If I could insert that letter it would bring tears to eyes of many a loving English father and mother, even as I wept over it. There was such tenderness of love and devotion to me, such willingness to yield to my wishes, but so pleading to remain in the Lord's work and service. Yet running it all there was the mournful evidence that she was the captive of the Salvation Army; that a father's love, a daughter's duty, a sweet home in which there was every indulgence and comfort, were not to be set in the scale against work in the Salvation Army. It was marked "strictly private," but I must give one brief quotation. "It was your own kind, loving act to bring me to Paris, and surely you will not now break my heart by recalling me. I will always do what God tells me, and I intend till death, to stick to my colours, come what may. Precious father, if you love me, which I know you do, leave me with Miss Booth."

Mr. Booth, you may be working for the Lord Jesus Christ, to win souls for Him; but I tell you that in your work you, and your family, and your system, have torn from my widowed home one of the most loving and devoted children, the sunbeam of my life, the cheer of my declining years; and you know that I am not the only sufferer in having my home made desolate by those terrible principles of your system, that all home interests, rights and duties, and all relationship obligations are to be subservient to the interests of the Salvation Army. It is so written in your secret book of orders and regulations for your officers, and I challenge you to make that book public - not the book to which you refer when these orders are spoken of, and which is only the general orders and regulations for

the members of the army, but the book given to your trusted, initiated officers for their guidance and instruction, with an express direction not to show it. In that book, you make yourself the autocrat of an order as despotic as that of the Romish Jesuits. In that book you ignore the holy Sacraments of the Christian Church; you set at naught the obligations and duties of married life, if they interfere with the interests of your army; you assert that the Bible does not contain the full revelation of God's mind and will to men, but that the words of your army teachers, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, are of equal authority. In the issue between us I am willing to abide upon the judgement which any Christian men may form of your system as indicated in that book. I decline to have any further public controversy with you or any of your people. I simply leave you and your system to the honest and right-minded judgement of the British Christian public. By your journals, placards and platform speeches, you have travestied our holy religion.

I am going to fetch my daughter home if I can now wean her back to her father's house and heart, and therefore I may not see the public journals. You speak in your letter of your exiled and silenced daughter having reproaches heaped upon her. I never reproached her, or you until I learned in that letter of yours today that you were insensible to the rights and duties existing between a father and child if they clashed with the success of your religious system.

I trust, Sir, I may be forgiven for thus seeking again to occupy so much space in your over-pressed column, as it is for the last time.

I have the honour to be your very obedient servant, Samuel Charlesworth

Clapham Common, Feb 22.

Rev. Charlesworth has obviously lost his temper! He would, perhaps, have been wiser to wait until he had calmed down before writing his letter. He could also have concentrated on the fact that the Salvation Army certainly was encouraging his daughter to stay with them rather than return home, and used Maud's health as an excuse to further this. I must admit that Maud's own account of her interrogation does not strike me as being written by a hysterical girl!

I am not sure how Samuel Charlesworth read this "*secret book of orders and regulations*". The leaflet of the Countess Agénor de Gasparin contained General Booth's "Orders and Regulations for the Salvation Army", so perhaps this is what he is referring to. He may not even have read this leaflet, but may be relying on the Times description of it.

Also, Rev. Charlesworth is making further accusations about the Salvation Army in Paris, laying himself open to a counter-attack.

Finally, he says that he will write no further letters, leaving General Booth to have the last word.

Monday, Feb 26, 1883

General Booth replies to Rev. Samuel Charlesworth's second letter:

To the Editor of The Times

Sir: - Were it a matter of merely private or personal interest, I should not trouble you with a further reply to Mr. Charlesworth; but seeing that I represent a great movement, in which truth and righteousness are of paramount importance, I ask you to be good enough to insert this letter.

I am glad that it is now admitted by Mr. Charlesworth that we had his full consent to his daughter's remaining in Geneva as a helper to Miss Booth, and that this consent was given after he knew that she was taking a prominent part in meetings attended by 2,000 people there. If Mr. Charlesworth had given us the date of Miss Booth's letter from which he quotes, we should also have seen that it was written before the interference in any way of the authorities, and it would have been impossible for him to have represented, as he has done, that my daughter deceived him.

I repeat that I failed to obtain any redress from Mr. Charlesworth. It is quite true that, in reply to a most courteous letter asking for an interview in order to obtain some explanation for this extraordinary

attack, I received by my messenger a repetition of the statements to which I referred. That was not redress.

As to the friend in Geneva to whom Mr. Charlesworth refers, I have not before heard of this person, and, indeed, Mr. Charlesworth himself says that his daughter "should not, under any circumstances, be separated from Miss Booth," and even in the letter of the 31st of January, from which I quoted in my last, he leaves it entirely to Miss Booth to make arrangements for her during her own absence in England. "Let her be," he says "where she will be most helpful to you and most useful in the Lord's service."

The extract from the "Salvation War," describing the sale of En Avant in the streets of Paris, does not refer to Miss Charlesworth, who was not in Paris at that time, and the moment that Mr. Charlesworth raised objections to his daughter's joining in this work with other young ladies of equal social standing with herself, and chiefly through whose efforts 200,000 copies of En Avant have been sold during the last 12 months, his wish, then expressed for the first time, was acceded to. How unfair then to represent that she had been allowed to take part in this work contrary to his expressed desire.

As to the wearing our uniform, I have only to say that Miss Charlesworth wore our "S.S." and badges in England; wore them in fact, when sitting with her father and speaking in his presence in our meetings.

The truth is let out, however. Mr. Charlesworth has changed his mind owing to some pretended revelations about the Army, which I feel I ought to notice. I have great pleasure in submitting to you a copy of the book said to be secret, which has long been noticed in some of the public journals, has been sent by us to many of the clergy and dignitaries of Mr. Charlesworth's own Church, and was recommended to the perusal of his clergy by his Lordship the Bishop of Durham in his charge delivered on the 19th of December last. It was originally intended for cadets, but 2,000 copies of it have been issued, and it never has been, in any sense, as Mr. Charlesworth suggests, secret. You will observe (1) that it is not a book of orders and regulations at all, but merely a catechism mainly as to doctrine;

(2) that not one of the monstrous theories referred to by Mr. Charlesworth can be found in it.

It is notoriously true, thank God, that we do teach men to look upon all their own interests and those of their families as subordinate to those of their Lord and of His Kingdom. I do not fear the judgement of any honest man as to either our teaching or our practice, and had already intended to issue a second edition of the little book for sale.

I have refrained from doing so in the past, only because if it was publicly sold it might be taken as an attack upon the teachings of others, and we have always striven to avoid anything of the kind, although of course we cannot send out officers without giving them to understand in the plainest possible English what we consider the sort of teaching likely to produce godly living, for the good of the world, and what to produce inconsistency, selfishness, and half-heartedness.

I know that in eagerness to denounce the pretence that a study of the scriptures or mental acceptance of certain truths is sufficient to ensure salvation, without a radical change of heart and life, and a complete self sacrifice for the lost, we have used language that may be easily twisted and distorted to convey an entirely different meaning to that which was intended, but we have no fear of honest and straightforward criticism.

The Salvation Army has nothing to conceal, and misrepresentations of it cannot long succeed in days when everyone reads.

Yours faithfully, William Booth

*Headquarters of the Salvation Army, 101, Queen Victoria Street,
London E.E.*

In this rather spiteful debate, the two sides fix on different points. Booth says Charlesworth agreed to Maud staying in Geneva, Charlesworth said she was not to be in any way used or exposed as an officer of the army. Charlesworth forbade her to wear the uniform, Booth said that Charlesworth knew about her wearing the badges (not quite the same thing!) Booth said the letter happened before the authorities cracked down on the Salvation Army, Charlesworth was talking about the disturbances which happened earlier. And so on.

The Geneva correspondent gives the Genevan Salvationists point of view.

The Salvation Army in Geneva. Our Geneva Correspondent writes:-
"The letter from Mr Charlesworth which you printed on Wednesday, wherein it is said, or rather implied, that his daughter was taken to Geneva against his wish has naturally occasioned considerable excitement among the Salvationists here, the more especially as they have so repeatedly and emphatically affirmed the very opposite. Miss Booth, as I am informed, feels the imputation keenly, and at 'Colonel' Clibborn's request, I telegraphed to you that he had in his possession letters from Mr. Charlesworth explicitly authorizing his daughter to come here and remain here. As the Salvationists, or to be more precise, Miss Booth and Colonel Clibborn, feel that their honour is concerned in this matter, and the Genevan authorities may not improbably seek to justify their recent doings by quoting Mr. Charlesworth's statements, I propose to give some extracts from the letters in question, which I take for granted are genuine. The first, dated 'Maitland House, Clapham Common, January 13, 1883,' and sign 'Samuel Charlesworth, Clerk in Holy Orders of the English Episcopal Church,' is, in effect, a certificate, and was, I believe, shown to the police when application was made for Miss Charlesworth's permis de séjour. It runs as follows:-

"I hereby certify that my daughter, Maud Elizabeth Charlesworth, now staying at the Hotel Pin, 8, Quai Pierre Flatio, Geneva, with her friend, Miss Katherine Booth, is a British-born subject, and that she was 17 years of age on the 13th day of September last.'

"Miss Booth and Colonel Clibborn contend that if Mr. Charlesworth had not been quite willing for his daughter to accompany the Salvationist leaders to Geneva, he would not have given her a certificate for the purpose of enabling her to procure a permis de séjour, which is necessary only when a stay of some duration is contemplated.

"The second letter, like the first, purports to be written at Maitland House, Clapham Common, and bears date January 31, 1883.

Omitting passages which are purely private and irrelevant, the missive is thus couched:-"

"My dear Miss Booth, I will leave entirely to your judgement and the convenience of your arrangements whether my child remains at Geneva or at Paris during your absence in England. Let her be where she will be most useful to you and useful in the Lord's service. If you intend to return to Geneva her remaining there will save both the fatigue and expense of a long double journey ... I am sorry that you have the fatigue and expense of so long a journey. May our covenant God preserve you in your going out and coming in. When I think of your burden of suffering and care I feel ashamed that I should be downcast, but the joy of your work gives you strength in the Lord... I know that you will counsel my dear child and enforce rules for her guidance in your absence... Believe me to be, yours very sincerely, Samuel Charlesworth."

"Miss Booth is of the opinion that the letter from which I have made the following extracts shows that at a time not very remote she enjoyed Mr. Charlesworth's fullest confidence, and out of his own mouth she is cleared of the charge he now brings against her of contravening 'both the letter and spirit' of his express stipulations.

"The third letter, dated Feb. 17, and like the others, signed by Mr. Charlesworth, was forwarded to Colonel Clibborn for transmission to the British Minister at Berne in support of the official protest against the expulsion of the two English ladies, and is now, I believe, in possession of the Minister. The following is its purport:-"

"At the request of Miss Booth and of my daughter, Maud Elizabeth Charlesworth, I write to mention to your Excellency that my daughter accompanied Miss Booth to Switzerland with my full concurrence... I am anxious to have it understood that my daughter is not officially connected with the Salvation Army, but is only with Miss Booth as a young friend and visitor, taking great interest in the work carried out among the poor in England and on the Continent.'

"In answer to my inquiries on that point, Colonel Clibborn informs me that, although Miss Charlesworth is a soldier of the Salvation Army, carries a soldier's pass and wears a uniform, she had, in fact, no official position in the movement here, but in her devotion to the

work 'gave herself the brevet rank of aide-de-camp to la Maréchale (Miss Booth).' As I attended none of the Salvationist meetings, I am unable to say whether or not she took part in them, but certainly until her expulsion her name was not brought before the public, and it is solely to the police of Geneva that Miss Charlesworth owes the celebrity she has lately acquired and to which her father so much objects. No one has ever ventured to doubt that she is a modest English girl, and during her long and trying examination at the Hôtel de Ville, which she has herself so graphically described, she displayed qualities of courage, constancy, and intelligence of which her father may well be proud."

This reiterates the Salvationist defence. The date of the last letter is after Maud's expulsion, but before her account was published in the Times. The letter is intended to support the complaint against the authorities, and presumably at that time, Rev. Charlesworth was supporting the Salvation Army's position, and did not want to express his doubts.

Rev. Charlesworth has already said that he intended to leave England to find his daughter, and will not be reading the papers. So he does not reply, and we do not hear from him directly again.

Tuesday, Feb 27, 1883

The official complaint progresses:

The Salvation Army: Yesterday, General Booth, who is in Sunderland, received from his daughter a telegram to the effect that she had been temporarily recalled to Geneva, the Genevan Government having appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the circumstances attending the expulsion of Miss Booth and Miss Charlesworth.

Thursday, Mar 1, 1883

A speech by Mrs. Booth, wife of General Booth.

The Salvation Army: Speaking on Tuesday at Regent's Hall Oxford Street, Mrs. Booth said that the Geneva correspondent of The Times had abundantly vindicated the army from charges which had been preferred against it by the Rev. Mr. Charlesworth concerning his daughter. The "General" and herself (Mrs. Booth) deplored the circumstances which had thrust their daughter so prominently before the public as much as Mr. Charlesworth could deplore the case of his daughter. Her own eager earnestness, which her father admitted he himself could not suppress in England, had placed Miss Charlesworth in the prominent position she found herself. She was not an officer in the army, but it pleased her to wear its uniform, and to sign herself "A.D.C." to Miss Booth. Their expulsion from Geneva was by the law journals condemned as contrary to international law. Within, however, the last two months, 2,000 copies of the book of instructions had been publicly circulated, and it was one of the publications of the army which the Bishop of Durham commended to the considerations of churchmen. With respect to the opinions and fears of the Rev. Mr. Charlesworth, Mrs. Booth said she would leave God and time to answer them. God and time had done a good deal for the army during the 17 years of its existence, and would yet do a great deal more. Meanwhile the slanders and misreprehensions which were abroad concerning the army had affected the state of its coffers, and she appealed for a liberal collection.

This is interesting. Mrs. Booth admits that her family were as unable to control Maud Charlesworth as her father was!

Also, there is an admission that the finances of the Salvation Army are affected by this row.

Monday, Mar 5, 1883

The official complaint is heard, and rejected.

Switzerland, Geneva, March 3: The text of the resolution adopted yesterday by the Council of State for the Canton of Geneva, rejecting the appeal of Miss Catherine Booth against her expulsion from the canton, is as follows:-

Considering the appeal of Catherine Booth against the decree of expulsion, dated 12th ult., issued against her by the Department of Justice and Police, which withdrew the permission for her stay in the Canton;

Considering that Miss Booth has openly declared that she holds the highest hierarchical position in the Salvation Army, and is in that quality responsible for the proceedings of the persons acting under her orders;

Considering that the Salvation Army has been the cause of serious disorders at Geneva and that several of its members have contravened the decree of the Council of State of the 2d ult. suspending the meetings of the Army;

Considering Article 28 of the Law of February 1844, which enacts as follows:-

"The Council of State, in virtue of its supreme administrative power, has always the right of expelling from the Canton foreigners whose presence might be prejudicial to the country's interests or the safety of the State;"

The Council of State, having heard the report of the Commissary appointed to make inquiry in conformity with Article 5 of the Law of February 9th, 1844, upon the police supervision of foreigners, decides to reject the appeal of Miss Catherine Booth.

Considering the appeal of Miss Charlesworth against the order of expulsion issued on the 11th ult. by the Department of Justice and Police, withdrawing from Miss Charlesworth permission to reside in the Canton;

Considering the report of the Commissary appointed to make inquiry in conformity with Article 5 of the Law of February 9th, 1844, on the police supervision of foreigners;

The Council of State rejects Miss Charlesworth's appeal.

The above resolution was not unanimously adopted by the five members of the Executive Council who were present at the time.

Back in England

The political situation has calmed down, but the personal situation is still tempestuous. Rev. Charlesworth has obviously had no luck with Maud in Switzerland, and she returns to England with the Booths.

Tuesday, Mar 6, 1883

General Booth announces that Maud Charlesworth is staying with his family.

The Salvation Army: Mr. Booth, addressing a large meeting of the Salvation Army at Sheffield last night, announced the receipt of the following telegram from his son in London:- "Miss Booth and Miss Charlesworth have arrived safely in London. Miss Charlesworth is here (at Mr. Booth's private house) with her father's consent. Not one soldier lost in Geneva or in Paris through the opposition." Mr. Booth referred to the efforts made by Lord Granville on behalf of the expelled Salvationists, and said that he had fulfilled a promise made in a personal interview the other day. Lord Granville said he would ascertain the facts of the case, and lay them before the Law Officers of the Crown and if they formed a sufficient reason for the interference of the British Government he would take the necessary steps. Mr. Booth adverted to the Charlesworth correspondence in The Times, adding that he had received a letter this evening to the effect that the Rev. S. Charlesworth had given his daughter into the care of Miss Booth, and that, hand in hand, they were going on to fight for Jesus. Both would appear and speak at Exeter Hall next Monday.

Maud said: "My father's church friends blamed him for leaving me unprotected in Switzerland. They inveighed against the Salvation Army. There I was with an angry parent shocked and demanding that I leave the work I loved and had given my life to. ... These experiences brought about a long and sad separation and a breaking of old family ties. That bitter newspaper controversy ostracized me except from Florrie, who never

deserted me. The next time I visited my father's home, he called the servants up as I left to witness that I was never to return. My few possessions were packed and sent after me."

So Rev. Charlesworth did not 'give consent' to Maud staying with the Booths. Instead he gave her a blunt choice, "Your father or the Salvation Army" and Maud choose the Salvation Army.

Maud continued to stay with the Booth family, and the rift between her and her father was complete. 'Florrie' was her older sister, Florence Barclay. The two sisters had always been close. Florence was married and so independent of their father. This explains why she could continue to support Maud openly.

Monday, May 31, 1886

This account, several years later, shows that Maud is still firmly part of the Booth family.

The Salvation Army: An international congress of this army from various parts of the world - which is to extend over a week - began on Friday at Exeter Hall under the presidency of General Booth, who was supported by all the members of his family. The hall was crowded. The General said that in 1882 there were only 320 corps and 766 officers; now there were 1,552 corps and 3,602 officers. In 1882 they held 6,222 services weekly, or 323,000 a year, but these figures had now advanced to 28,200 and 1,466,400 respectively. The newspaper of the army was printed in 19 different languages, and the Salvation banner waved in 19 different countries and colonies. Testimonials were given by representatives of the army from many parts of the world as to the good work it was carrying on, and the proceedings were of a very enthusiastic and congratulatory kind throughout, the Salvationists from abroad receiving a cordial welcome. A remarkable demonstration of the Army in connexion with the congress now being held was witnessed in Hackey on Saturday afternoon by many thousands of spectators. A "grand

triumphal procession," as it was called, was the main feature of the demonstration, and it was as remarkable in its composition as it was long in its extent. To use the phraseology of the official programme, "the ranks comprised 5,000 troops of the Army of Jehovah, gathered from all parts of the earth, on horse and on foot, with 30 brass bands, brakes, and chariots, representatives of most of the nations of the earth, including England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, New Zealand, China, Australia, Italy, La Maréchale Booth and French force, India, Germany, South Africa, Switzerland, Sweden, Holland, Germany, the United States battalion on war steeds," etc. Each nationality had its brake or series of conveyances, and the occupants, who appeared in their native costumes, rendered still more brilliant by the profusion of sashes, collars, shields, and medals, presented an exceedingly picturesque appearance. The bands played lively hymn tunes, and some of them betokened really good musical talent. The "chariots" attracted most attention. The occupants of these were Mr. Bramwell Booth, chief of staff, and Mrs. Bramwell Booth, Commissioners Railton and Tucker (from India), Misses E. M. and Eva Booth, Miss Charlesworth, Marshal Booth (from Australia), while "General" Booth and Mrs. Booth were in a special triumphal car, escorted by several hundreds of the "Salvation Life Guards in heavy marching order," and followed by the "Cavalry corps fort," "The Integrity," with its special occupants. Mr. and Mrs. Booth were loudly cheered at intervals, and constantly bowed their acknowledgements to the immense crowd all along the line of route.

The attitude of the Times towards the Salvation Army has now become almost approving. The Salvation Army ranks often drop the inverted commas, unlike past reports.

By now, Maud was engaged to a son of General Booth, Ballington Booth (he is the "Marshal Booth" from Australia above). As she was still under age, it was necessary for her father, Samuel Charlesworth, to consent to the marriage, but as you can imagine, this did not happen. So the pair had to wait until Maud was 21 to get married without his permission.

Friday, Sep 17, 1886

Marriage of Maud Charlesworth and Ballington Booth:

The Salvation Army: Nearly 4,000 persons assembled in the Congress Hall at Clapham yesterday morning to witness the marriage of Mr. Ballington Booth, second son of General Booth, with Miss Maud Charlesworth, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Charlesworth. Once before there was a wedding in the family of General Booth upon strict Salvation Army lines, the bridegroom being Mr. Bramwell Booth. The proceedings yesterday differed very little from the first. Many of the vast audience had paid their shillings for admission to the service, while others were invited as friends. Outside the hall flags and banners were flying, but inside there was little to mark the event out as different from any service, except an occasional motto like, "God bless the union." On the platform the General sat in the centre, with his wife, and sons and daughters. The bride sat between Mrs. Booth and her sister, Mrs. Barclay, who with the Rev. Mr. Barclay was also present, and a number of staunch supporters of the army. Hymns were sung, to the accompaniment of a band, prayers were offered, and a portion of scripture was read. The the General read the form of marriage in the army, and expounded it. Where it differed from any other form is chiefly in the fact that it enjoins upon the contracting parties life-long devotion to the army as well as to each other. Then the bride and bridegroom stood upon either side of the General and repeated their declarations after him in a firm voice, accepting each other as lawful and wedded husband and wife and "continuous comrades in this war". The General clasped the hands of each together, and they were pronounced man and wife in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, amid the ringing "Amens" of the Salvationists present. During this formal part of the ceremony two flags of the army were held over the heads of the contracting and officiating parties. Mrs Booth and the bride both addressed the meeting, and after a collection the ceremony ended.

This happened four days after Maud's 21st birthday.

Samuel Charlesworth refused to attend the ceremony, but (I am glad to say) her sister Florence Barclay and Florence's husband did come.

Two interesting points: the service requires the couple to have "*life-long devotion to the army*", and people attending the wedding have to pay!

Ballington and Maud went to America to work for the Salvation Army there. She took the name Maud Ballington Booth.

Summary so far

Let us just take a few moments to summarise the situation, and work out our reactions.

It seems obvious that Rev. Charlesworth had lost. He broke off communication with his daughter, and she remained with the Salvation Army, and even married into the Booth family. The Salvation Army itself was being increasingly accepted by the establishment.

Florence Barclay described her father this way: "*The Reverend Samuel Charlesworth was a man of reserved, undemonstrative nature. He had married very late in life, and had already acquired the habits of a confirmed bachelor...Mr. Charlesworth was a man of few words... He considered no kind of untruthful speaking ever justifiable.*"

It would be easy to stigmatise Rev Samuel Charlesworth as a rigid and humourless authoritarian Victorian father, demanding complete obedience to his commands. However, I think that he deeply loved his daughter, and was furious with the Salvation Army. He had placed her in their care, and they had put in her in very real danger. Tweaking the nose of the police of a foreign country is not a sensible thing to do, quite apart from the violent demonstrations against the Salvationists. His letters to the Times were hasty and unwise, and his handling of his daughter abysmal. He should have praised her courage and wit rather than shouting at her, which he obviously did. But he was not only angry about the past, he was frightened about the future. He tried in every way he knew to withdraw Maud from the Salvation Army, but he failed. He was a strong believer in the Bible, so he would have regarded "Honour thy father and thy mother" not merely as a cultural norm, but one of the Ten Commandments. Maud had broken this commandment. In his eyes, she was now lost.

However, he was wrong. Maud was obviously an intelligent and courageous young lady with a strong sense of humour. While some of her behaviour seems 'typical teenager' to us, this would be unfair. She had worked out at a very young age what she wanted to do with her life, what

her talents were, and how to use them. The Salvation Army suited her perfectly, and so did life in America. She refused to be over-awed by her father, even as a minor, and she made her choice. But it does seem to have made her unhappy. She did love her father, however remote and stern he was. The tragedy was that he was incapable of understanding this.

I am not sure about the actions of the Salvation Army. I think they got Maud's private letter published in the Times because it benefitted them, even though it had devastating consequences for Maud and her family. The quick and overwhelming responses to criticism, point by point (where the points suited them!) reminds me of the modern 'rapid response unit' of politicians. General Booth boasts that "*My daughter will certainly remain at her post in the 'very forefront of an aggressive movement in a foreign land' no matter to what outrages and misrepresentations she may be subjected*" which is an odd thing to say to a father who is terrified of what his own daughter had undergone. There is no hint of an apology (although Mrs. Booth, later, is a little more sympathetic). The Salvation Army were not a cult, but the fact remains that Maud Charlesworth was alienated from her father, and she did stay with the Salvation Army.

Our last group of characters were the Times journalists and editor. I think that they tried hard to be even-handed, reporting both sides. As representing the establishment, they were repelled by the Salvation Army, but they (and the British authorities) took the sensible line that Violence is Wrong, and that government has a responsibility to deal with inconveniences like the Salvation Army in a moderate and reasoned manner. There is a slight feeling that they hoped if they shut their eyes, the whole phenomenon would disappear! But by 1886, the Times rather enjoyed the razzmatazz of a Salvation Army "grand triumphal procession".

So ... what happened next? We have not yet got to the end of our story!

America

Maud and her husband, Ballington Booth, are now in America, working for the Salvation Army.

In the end Maud and her husband got fed up with General Booth. He tried to interfere with the Salvation Army work that they were doing in America, and eventually ordered them back to England. They refused to go, which meant that in 1896 they left the Salvation Army. Their house belonged to the Salvation Army, so they had to move out. They had two young children. They were desperately short of money. They were helped by their American friends, but when Rev. Samuel Charlesworth in England heard of their plight, he promptly sent money to help them survive. I'm sure that this was done in love, but if there was a smallest hint of "I told you so", who can blame him? He had warned them of the autocratic nature of General Booth in those letters to the Times.

Maud's husband was not the only child of General Booth to leave the Salvation Army. Maud's friend, Catherine Booth, known as "la Maréchale", left in 1902 with her husband, unhappy at the restrictive nature of the Army's military style of government. Another son of the General, Herbert, left in 1901. The Salvation Army referred to these departures as "desertions", and the people concerned were ostracised by the remaining family.

Maud and her husband went on to create an organisation called Volunteers of America, to help the poor and those in need. This organisation still exists. Maud Ballington Booth worked to improve the conditions of prisons in America, and developed hostels for ex-prisoners to stop them drifting back to a life of crime. She also wrote books about her causes. "After Prison - What?" was published in 1903. It is on the Gutenberg website of online books. This book talks at length about how to reform prisoners to rescue them from a life of crime. You may remember that Samuel Favell was also interested in "criminals reformed", back in 1818. Maud continued to address meetings. On the Chautauqua circuit, she would speak to an audience of up to 5000 people, about her work in

prisons and her ideas of reform. Her sister, Florence Barclay, now a popular novelist, travelled to America to join her on one of these tours. The meetings were peaceful, and I hope that Maud never suffered from the mob again!

One last incident is described in *The Eagle*, Oct 17, 1912. This American newspaper is giving a life of Maud Ballington Booth, née Charlesworth. It describes the earlier problems with her father, then goes on to say:

"The crowning joy of Mrs. Booth's work came in the reconciliation with her father, whom she discovered in the audience one night in Brooklyn when she was making one of her powerful appeals. The rapt affection and pride in his face filled her with happiness, and after the meeting he came to her with his blessing. He had crossed the sea to seek the daughter whose early religious undertakings had displeased him so much. The 'wayward girl of goodness' received the paternal benediction at last."

I think we will end there!

Maud Ballington Booth (née Charlesworth) in 1936



Timelines

Samuel Favell

1788

Oct 1 Meeting of the Revolution Society

1790

Apr 10 Societies talking to each other

1791

Jun 8 Support for Thomas Paine's book

1792

Apr 10 Paine and Favell at meeting

Favell about Paine

Apr 19 "Friends of the People"

May 15 Refusal of advert

Jun 22 "The Southwark Slopseller"

Attacks on reformers

Dec 3 Royal Proclamation

Editorial against clubs

Dec 4 Slopseller's house bill-stuck

Favell remembers this

Dec 5 Favell stays at home

Dec 6 Meeting at Merchant Taylor's Hall

Times's comment on this

Favell at meeting

Dec 12 "Progress of a Lie"

Dec 22 Opposition supports Government

Favell dismissed from post

1793

May 24 "Bill of Costs"

Sep 13 Favell at Club

Oct 22 Pigott and Hudson in prison

Nov 18 "Honorary Drawings"

1794

May 17 Arrest of Horne Tooke

May 20 Tooke in the Tower of London

Later life

1801 Favell on lack of Magistrate

1803 Favell joins Militia

1809 Resolutions against Ministers

1813 Master of Clothworkers'

1818 Revising the Criminal Code

1819 Comments on Peterloo Massacre

1821 Meeting about the Queen

1830 Samuel Favell's obituary

Maud Charlesworth

1882

Dec 20 Bishop of Durham

Dec 30 L'Évangéliste

1883

Jan 5 Booth's reply

Jan 11 L'Évangéliste is published

Jan 13 Trouble in London and Devon

Jan 16 "Skeleton Army"

Jan 23 Review of L'Évangéliste

Feb 1 Violence in Geneva

Feb 2 General Booth's letter

Violence in London

News from Geneva, Neuchâtel

Feb 6 Geneva bans meetings

Feb 7 Opposition to ban

Feb 8 Berne bans meetings

Feb 10 Appeals for redress

Feb 13 Anti-Salvationist pamphlet

Maud Charlesworth expelled

Feb 14 More on L'Évangéliste

Feb 15 Reactions to expulsions

Feb 19 Maud's account

Feb 20 Official complaint
Arrests in India
Editorial: Maud's expulsion
Feb 21 Official complaint
Rev. Charlesworth's letter
Editorial: anti-Salvationist
Booth about India
Feb 22 Defence against expulsions
Official complaint
Booth's reply to Charlesworth
Feb 24 Charlesworth's reply
Feb 26 General Booth's reply
Swiss Salvationists' reply
Feb 27 Official complaint
Mar 1 Speech by Mrs Booth
Mar 5 Result of official complaint
Mar 6 Maud stays with the Booth family
1886
May 31 Salvation Army procession
Sep 17 Maud gets married
1896
Maud & Ballington leave Salvation Army